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AUSTRALIA'S APPROACH TO SECURITY IN THE PACIFIC

By THE RIGHT HON. H. V. EVATT, K.C., M.P.

THE Australian approach to the problem of post-war security is very largely determined by its geographical position in the Pacific area. As a continent of the South Pacific, Australia abuts on to the long island chain generally lying athwart the South-Eastern portions of Asia. The island of Timor for example lies within a few hours' flying time from Darwin. Through this link and that of the neighbouring Indonesian island chain Australia is brought into direct contact with South-East Asia. To our immediate north lie the large island of New Guinea and the many other island dependencies of Great Britain, France, and the United States, as well as the former Japanese mandated islands in the South Pacific. On the west our shores reach out to the Indian Ocean.

Inevitably then Australia has a direct and vital concern in conditions which will ensure political stability, economic and social progress and peaceful co-operation between the peoples of South-West Asia and the South Pacific generally and the Western nations at present having authority over them.

We have come to realize in Australia that there is little uniformity in the stages of internal development among the varied island peoples near to Australia. These differences of cultural level have, however, a certain uniform basis in the universally low standard of living and general impoverishment of most inhabitants of the island territories, many of which, especially in South-East Asia, are immensely rich in natural resources. Australians also realize that the problem of adjusting varying and often backward native societies to meet the pressures and needs of a modern industrial world, with its constant calls for enlarged access to essential raw materials and for expanding markets, is difficult indeed.

Australia and New Zealand, if only because of their geographical position, have a fundamental common interest in seeing that this adjustment is made with a minimum of political unrest and with the fullest regard for the well-being and progress of the peoples concerned.

The expression of the Australian and New Zealand interest is found specifically in Article 13 of the Australian-New Zealand Agreement of January 1944:

'The two Governments agree that within the framework of a general system of world security a regional zone of defence comprising South-West and South Pacific areas shall be established and that this zone should be based on Australia and New Zealand stretching from the arc of islands North and North-East of Australia to Western Samoa and the Cook Islands.'

In making this declaration of their common approach to a defence policy the Australian and New Zealand Governments did not envisage that their resources alone would be adequate to ensure the security of this island defence zone. Article 34 of the same Agreement provided for the calling of a conference to discuss *inter alia* the organizing of security on a regional basis in this area:

'The two Governments agree that, as soon as practicable, there should be a frank exchange of views on the problems of security, post-war development and native welfare between properly accredited representatives of the Governments with existing territorial interests in the South-West Pacific area or in the South Pacific area, or in both, namely, in addition to the two governments, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, the Government of the United States of America, the Government of the Netherlands, the French Committee of National Liberation and the Government of Portugal, and His Majesty's Government in the Commonwealth of Australia should take the necessary steps to call a conference of the Governments concerned.'

REGIONAL DEFENCE AND PACIFIC SECURITY

These provisions of the Australian-New Zealand Agreement place primary emphasis on the building-up of a regional defence system covering the immediate northern approaches to Australia and New Zealand. It will be recalled, however, that when Japan launched her war on the peoples of the Pacific, the Australian Government was a party to negotiations among the so-called ABDA Powers designed to establish American-British-Dutch and Australian mutual defence arrangements. Participation in the ABDA negotiations indicated Australia's realization that her security could not be based solely on limited local arrangements covering the immediate northern island approaches to her shores.

The experience of the Japanese war and its revelation of the impossibility of isolating a serious centre of insecurity in the Pacific area have brought Australians to consider their security in terms of the Pacific area as a whole. At the same time, the Japanese war with its consequence of prolonged and savage struggle in the New Guinea jungles and other islands immediately off Australia's northern coastline has intensified Australia's preoccupation with the problems of home defence and the securing of the island defence zone fringing the north of Australia.

Any attempt to fix a clear-cut line of separation between essentially local and Pacific-wide security plans would be unreal in a world of shifting strategic considerations. In a speech in the House of Representatives on 17 July 1944, the late Mr. John Curtin as Prime Minister indicated Australia's view of the interdependence of local and wider security systems while at the same time stressing the great significance of the former:

'The small nations of the world as well as the great have their part to play in the maintenance of peace. In many cases their geographical locations in important strategical areas make them potential battlegrounds.... The new system of world security must safeguard the weak as well as the strong, but the weak must recognize their responsibility for doing what they can towards the defence of their territories and by co-operation in the wider system of regional security in the areas in which they and their territories are situated....'

The Prime Minister went on to indicate the rôle which Australia and New Zealand could play in developing an adequate defence system on a regional basis, provided British Commonwealth defence co-operation embracing at least the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand were made an essential part of that system.

REGIONAL AND WORLD SECURITY

The Prime Minister's statement of the Australian approach to security in its defence aspects was of course made prior both to the United Nations Conference on International Organization and to the revelation of the potentialities of atomic and other new forms of warfare.

The extent to which Australia will rely upon the United Nations Organization for its security must naturally depend upon practical demonstration by the United Nations of its capacity to discharge its responsibilities effectively and, in particular, to reach immediate and satisfactory adjustment of the problem of control over the atomic bomb and similar new weapons of destruction. In this regard in a speech to the House of Representatives on 30 August 1945, urging ratification of the Charter, I expressed the view that:

'... The case for the Charter has been increased by the destructive capacity of the newest and most terrible weapon of warfare. The destructive potential of atomic energy is too great to be entrusted to one great power. If the new weapon is placed under the control of an impartial Security Council, under special safeguards, the very knowledge that it lies at the Council's disposal will be a powerful deterrent against future aggression. But if it is not brought under the authority of the United Nations there will be an ever present sense of insecurity and fear weighing upon the peoples of the world. None of us now can have any illusions as to what the future holds for mankind should governments, and above all any one of the great powers, fail to honour fundamental obligations under the Charter.'

I would say that the experiences of World War II have compelled many Australians to abandon a tendency to isolation conceived in terms of their country's immediate geographical position in the South Pacific. September 1939 and its aftermath have demonstrated that peace is indivisible and the atomic age upon which we are entering underlines with terrible emphasis the indivisibility of war.

It would be wrong, however, to suggest that the Australian conception of security in the Pacific is being shaped on an international basis merely by the repercussions of Hiroshima. I recall for example that in the Australian-New Zealand Agreement of January 1944, the proposed regional zone of defence was to be established 'within the framework of a general system of world security.'

Again at the U. N. C. I. O. at San Francisco, the Australian delegation made a contribution of appreciable importance in effecting a realistic compromise, now defined in Article 51 of the Charter, between regional security systems and the authority of the Security Council. The Australian view was that any defence arrangements, whether on an imperial, regional or other basis, should operate as an integral part of any nation's fundamental right to self-defence, but this right of regional action was formulated in such a way that the authority and responsibility of the Security Council to act at any time and in any way was safeguarded.

It may be fairly said then that any Australian Government must in the first instance provide for the most effective defence system covering the northern approaches to the Commonwealth. In the establishment of such a system

much reliance will naturally be placed upon defence co-operation arranged between members of the British Commonwealth. At the same time, Australians cannot forget the grim experience of 1942-43, when, given the pre-occupation of British armies in resisting Nazi Germany, Australia had to rely upon its own resources and those of the United States for survival. Australians recognize in the United States the most powerful nation whose people touch the waters of the Pacific Ocean and in framing its post-war security requirements Australia will naturally have in mind the war-time experience of association with the United States in mutual defence arrangements. To what extent such local and regional security arrangements will be superseded by reliance upon the United Nations Security Council is a matter which history must decide. The present Australian Government has consistently emphasized its belief that the problem of organizing security is world-wide in its scope and that it should be handled by the security Council on that basis backed by the full confidence and authority of the United Nations.

At the same time it must be remembered that the Pacific area wherein Australia's immediate interests are located has its special conditions and needs. The Charter of the United Nations, as I have indicated, recognizes that such regional requirements have a legitimate rôle within the framework of the international system. During the war against Japan, Australian experience found in the Pacific War Council, at least during one stage of its existence, an agency whereby Australia's defence interests might be effectively presented. It may be that arising from this and other agencies such as the Far Eastern Advisory Commission the Pacific nations will find the incentive and the experience to devise a regional security system within the ambit of the United Nations Organization to cover the Pacific area.

In any approach to the problem of organizing security in the Pacific, Australia naturally recognizes the special position of India. The Indian Ocean covers the western approaches to Australia and from the harbours and bases of India, of Ceylon and Burma there is a vital line of communications with Australia's near north. The war with Japan revealed the close inter-dependence between the security of South-East Asia and that of Burma and India and in any future plans for regional security in the Pacific this war-time experience will have due influence. It is equally true that the intimate relations between conditions of security in an area and the political and economic welfare of its peoples apply to India and Burma as to South-East Asia and Australia's near north generally.

SECURITY AND WELFARE

I have said that the Australian approach to the problem of security is determined mainly by our geographical position. There is, however, another conditioning factor which is of distinctive significance for Australia and one which has been given added emphasis by the Japanese war and recent events in Indonesia, Indo-China and Burma. I refer to the relationship between conditions determining the well-being—political, economic and social—of the peoples of the South-West Pacific and the security of that area.

In April 1943, during an address at the Overseas Press Club in New York, I endeavoured to point to the decisive importance of this relationship:

'No world or regional system of security, however, could be permanent unless it has an adequate basis in economic justice.... It is not, however, for us to negate the attitude of Japan to impose this ("co-prosperity") system on the peoples of the Pacific nor to establish machinery for international security unless we can envisage a system of improved standards of life for all Pacific peoples. The Atlantic Charter promises to the people of the Pacific, as well as to the peoples of more developed parts of the world, freedom from want. The United Nations have a duty to see that this promise is implemented.

If freedom from want means anything, it means decent standards of living for all peoples and the end of any possibility of unfair exploitation of weak peoples by those who are stronger and economically more fully developed.'

This emphasis upon the endeavour to create conditions of well-being in the island territories of the South-West Pacific as a pre-requisite of Australian security and that of other Pacific countries was given formal expression in the proposal for a South Seas Regional Commission in Article 31 of the Australian-New Zealand Agreement, January 1944:—

'The two Governments agree that it shall be the function of such South Seas Regional Commission as may be established to secure a common policy on social, economic and political development directed towards the advancement and the well-being of the native peoples themselves, and that in particular, the commission shall

- (a) recommend arrangements for the participation of natives in administration in increasing measure with a view to promoting the ultimate attainment of self-government in the form most suited to the circumstances of the native peoples concerned;
- (b) recommend arrangements for material development including production, finance, communications and marketing;
- (c) recommend arrangements for co-ordination of health and medical services and education;
- (d) recommend arrangements for maintenance and improvement of standards of native welfare in regard to labour conditions and social services;
- (e) recommend arrangements for collaboration in economic, social, medical and anthropological research; and
- (f) make and publish periodical reviews of progress towards the development of self-governing institutions in the islands of the Pacific and in the improvement of standards of living, conditions of work, education, health and general welfare.'

The scope of the South Seas Regional Commission, which the Australian Government is anxious to see established in the immediate future, may well embrace the Australian island territories, the British colonies of the South Pacific, the condominium of the New Hebrides and the French colony of New Caledonia, Samoa, and other adjacent island dependencies. It would be in keeping with the Australian approach if similar responsibilities were undertaken by a regional commission embracing the South-East Asia area lying between Indo-China and Dutch New Guinea.

It will be seen that the functions of the South Seas Regional Commission are essentially advisory. The Commission will promote collaboration between the Powers concerned for the purpose of developing the political, economic, and social well-being of the peoples living in territories adjacent to Australia and New Zealand.

For its part, the Australian Government has already given proof of its intentions in recent legislation providing for the provisional restoration of civil administration in Papua and the mandated territory of New Guinea. In presenting this legislation in the House of Representatives on 4 July 1945, my colleague, Mr. E. J. Ward, as Minister for External Territories declared:

‘Apart from the debt of gratitude that the people of Australia owe to the natives of the territory, the Government regards it as its bounden duty to further to the utmost the advancement of the natives and considers that can be achieved only by providing facilities for better health, better education and for a greater participation by the natives in the wealth of their country and eventually in its government.

A comprehensive programme is to be followed for the rehabilitation and development of the territories having regard to the moral and material welfare of the native inhabitants and the strategic importance of the area to Australia. The Government has already taken decisions on a number of matters, the most important of which is that relative to native labour. In the past, native labour has been employed under the indenture system. It has already been announced that it is the intention of the Government to abolish this system as soon as practicable and the decisions that have been taken and which are now outlined are designed to remove the indenture system from Papua and New Guinea within a period of five years or at an earlier date as may be determined by the Government.’

Mr. Ward went on to detail other steps proposed by the Government to secure the economic and social well-being of the peoples of New Guinea and Papua. These included the raising of the wages to a tentative minimum rate of fifteen shillings a month plus rations, issues, housing and medical care; the elimination of professional labour recruiters; an improved and prescribed dietary scale; a reduction of hours of labour to 44 per week; and other measures to improve health, education and general economic conditions throughout New Guinea and Papua. In his reply to the debate the Minister for External Territories concluded by stressing Australia’s objectives in introducing these and subsequent reforms:—

‘As we go on with our plans for the improvement of the conditions in Papua and New Guinea generally we will make these Territories a means of real defence for the continent of Australia. We hope to be able to set an example to the world by the conditions we establish there, and by the manner in which we develop the Territories. When the system of trusteeship begins to operate fully, Australia will have no need to be ashamed of what has been accomplished by a Labour Government in caring for its dependent Territories, and particularly for the needs of the inhabitants.’

The Australian approach to the relation between security and the welfare of the peoples of the South Pacific is not limited to immediately neighbouring territories. At the San Francisco Conference the Australian delegation was

prominent in pressing not only for a system of international trusteeship but for a general obligation towards all non-self-governing peoples to be assumed by the administering States. This emphasis found expression in Chapter XI of the Charter: the declaration regarding non-self-governing territories. It will be recalled that this declaration imposed 'as a sacred trust' the obligation on all States, concerned to promote to the utmost...the well-being of the inhabitants of non-self-governing territories and to this end, *inter alia* 'to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement.'

This declaration and the trusteeship provisions of Chapter XII in the Charter, if they are scrupulously observed, will do much to satisfy one basic impulse promoting Australia's approach to the problem of non-self-governing peoples. This, as defined in Article 28 of the Australian-New Zealand Agreement, is that the principles of the Atlantic Charter should apply to the Pacific as elsewhere and in the exercise of their imperial rule colonial powers in the Pacific and elsewhere should accept the principle that the main purpose of their administration is 'the welfare of native peoples and their social, economic and political development.'

There is, however, another powerful motive other than that of moral and political principle which directs Australian policy towards the problem of colonial peoples, particularly in South-East Asia. Before the Japanese surrender, during a session of the San Francisco Conference on 10 May 1945, I put the Australian case for a general application of the principle of trusteeship in these words:—

'For more than three years the peoples of South-Eastern Asia and Indonesia have been under Japanese military overlordship. Their political structures have been subjected to shock and strain. Their economies have been distorted by the demands of Japan's war machine. Their social life has been profoundly disturbed. They will need help and guidance for their material and moral rehabilitation. At the same time they will remember that their former rulers were overcome. They will be uncertain and perhaps suspicious of the motives of some at least of the returning Powers. It is vitally important that these uncertainties be removed and that the peoples of this region be given a solemn pledge that the purpose of administration will be their welfare and advancement. Their goodwill must be fostered, not only because their co-operation is essential to good administration in their own interests, but because they inhabit a vital strategic area. Many of these peoples are clearly 'not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world.' This is a dangerous situation not only for them, but for all of us. It is necessary that powers capable of playing an effective part in maintaining security should be present in this region until the indigenous peoples can stand on their own feet. This goal should be approached by progressive steps, but the over-riding interests of security forbid that there should meanwhile be a strategic vacuum in this vital zone.

But the conditions of security in this area will not exist unless the peoples are prepared to co-operate with stronger States. To secure this co-opera-

tion, it must be made clear that the purpose of administration is their welfare and advancement, and their security as well as ours. A solemn declaration in this Charter would give meaning to the co-operation of East and West in this region. The principle of trusteeship would thus contribute to security.'

The degree to which subsequent happenings in Indo-China, Indonesia, Burma and elsewhere have justified the case which Australia argued at San Francisco needs no emphasis from me. As far as Indonesia is concerned, whatever the outcome of the conflict, Australia, by necessities of geography, strategy and economy, cannot avoid being vitally concerned. The Australian people earnestly hoped from the outset that the desires of the Indonesian peoples, as of all other similarly placed peoples, for changes in their pre-war status and economic and social conditions would be justly met by free negotiation within the framework of principles and obligations laid down by the United Nations Charter. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the present disturbances throughout South-East Asia are both a challenge and a testing-time for the United Nations' declared approach towards the aspirations of non-self-governing peoples.

Australians can never forget the grim months of January to March 1942, when the Japanese overwhelmed Allied resistance throughout South East Asia at least partly in consequence of the inertia and lack of active and organized sympathy for the Allied cause on the part of hundreds of thousands of potential Allied reinforcements. Australia's primal need for security dictates that conditions must not again be such as to induce any attitude of indifference, or at worst of antipathy, on the part of the peoples of the South Pacific towards the Powers exercising authority over them.

* * * * *

The foregoing is no more than an outline of the basic motives and interests of Australia towards the problem of security in the Pacific. As I have indicated, the discovery of the atomic bomb and other new weapons on the use of which space no longer sets serious limitations, must considerably modify attitudes and policies drawn up under earlier conditions. Nevertheless, though the methods of safeguarding Australian interests may be reconsidered in the light of new strategical conditions, those interests and the principles expressing them remain.

The Japanese war has brought a new consciousness to Australians of the island territories of the South Pacific. Many thousands of Australian soldiers have had first-hand experience of the conditions in which many of the Pacific island peoples live and of their needs and their qualities as human beings. Many do not forget they owe their lives to Papuan carriers who tended them along the deathly slopes of the Kokoda trail and in the mud and heat of New Guinea's jungle.

There is an Australian phrase which perhaps expresses what these men, and I believe the whole Australian people, feel: It is that these Pacific peoples who in Australian experience were our valued Allies against the Japanese should now have a 'fair go.' Such a new deal for the peoples of the

South-West Pacific is not only a fundamental conviction of Australian labour: it is a primary condition for the creation of any lasting stability in an area which juts into the vitals of Australia's security.

INDO-AMERICAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

By P. S. LOKANATHAN

UNTIL lately India and the U. S. A. were strangers to each other. Political geography no less than the physical distance separating the two countries and the lack of communications were mainly responsible for the ignorance of the life and conditions of each country. To the American, India was a mystic land inhabited by *sadhus* and princes, and the cultural contact established through religion only added to his sense of mystery and merriment. The few Indian students who migrated to American Universities were inspired and financed by missionary societies, and such impression as they could produce in that country was quantitatively of no importance. Within India itself there was little eagerness to study and know America seriously. The America-returned Indian student was looked down upon as having had an inferior education compared to those who had a British education, and this erroneous idea got currency as much through the attitude of the British bureaucrats as through the really uneven quality of American University degrees. Even the American trader who might be expected to browse the country in his own interest cared little to cultivate the Indian market. The quantum of the exports which were sent to India was not large in absolute terms, but relative to home production and to the total of U. S. exports to the world in general was even more insignificant. Thus before the present war the contact between the two countries in the economic sphere (as indeed in others) was far from close.

The war has profoundly altered the situation. Distances have been annihilated through the revolution in air transport. Although bulky articles may not still be transported through air, men and valuable freight can pass between the two countries in two to three days. The aeroplane and fast steamship have put India definitely within the trading orbit of America. But the war has done more than that. It has increased the interest in each other owing to the close contact which the thousands of U. S. soldiers were able to make during their stay in the far-eastern theatre. These men, who in their civilian life had been engaged in a variety of occupations including business and trade, had the opportunity of studying India in an unusually intimate way and are now returning home enriched with the knowledge of the conditions of industry, trade and commerce, so useful and necessary for furthering trade and economic relations. On their side Indians have seen American machinery, equipment, management technique and know-how in certain fields and have been deeply impressed by the American way of doing things. To this may be added the attitude of mutual friendliness based in the one case upon the apparent or real political sympathy for a country struggling to be free and on the other upon

freedom from snobbery and superiority-complex and upon easy accessibility. In the year which has just come to a close, hundreds of Indians have visited America, and, however inadequate in terms of immediate results the visits might have been, they have established friendly relations with their *conferes* in that country and gained valuable experience. The visit of the Industrialists Mission last year and their published reports and speeches have been followed with great interest in both countries, and other missions have also travelled widely in America, the most important of which was the Scientists Mission. Even more symbolic and significant is the large number of Indian students who have been sent to American Universities and factories for scientific and technical training, which is rightly regarded as an essential condition for any rapid indigenous industrialization.

II

These favourable factors, valuable as they are, cannot by themselves constitute the basis of a strong and binding economic relationship, unless rooted in mutuality of real interest between the two nations. It is therefore necessary to review in the light of foreseeable trends the prospects of trade and economic relations within the next decade or two: How far will mutual trade grow rapidly? A review of the history of the inter-war period is an essential preliminary to a satisfactory answer. It is not necessary to go back to the period before the first world war, although in essentials there was little difference between that period and the inter-war period. In the period 1910-13, India's trade with the U. S. A. was 8 per cent of her exports and about 3 per cent of her imports. After World War I, in the period 1919-20 to 1923-24 the share of the United States in the export and import trade of India rose to 12 and 9 per cent respectively. But in 1938-39 the year before the present war the share of U. S. fell to 8 and 6 per cent respectively. From the point of view of the American trade it would be desirable to raise the place of India as a market for U. S. exports and U. S. imports. Taking only the year 1939, exports to India constituted barely 1.37 of the total exports from that country and India furnished 2.91% of all the imports into the U. S. A. Quantitatively U. S. exports to India amounted to 43 million dollars or about Rs. 13 crores and U. S. imports from India 6.6 million dollars or about Rs. 20 crores.

The significance of the above lies in the fact that India has not been a big market for U. S. A. This added to the general indifference of the American business men and trader to export trade explains the failure to establish trade representatives in India or follow up by closer business connexions. The American businessman was, at least till recently, looking to his own home market provided by the vast free-trade area of his country inhabited by rich people for the sale of his goods. The home market was to him always more important than the distant foreign market inhabited by poor people. The proportion of exported manufactures to domestic manufactures was only 4% in 1937 and 4.3 per cent in 1939. This has been a basic factor differentiating the U. S. A. from other countries, particularly Britain, which has been more export-minded.

The war has effected a radical revolution in the thinking of the American, although it would be hazardous to be dogmatic about it. But for obvious reasons the old outlook and circumstances have ceased to be operative. In the first place it is realized that for the next four or five years at least the problem of preventing large-scale unemployment arising out of demobilization and finding market for the vastly increased productive system set up during the war it is imperative that a big export drive should be launched. This is, of course, fully understood only by the Administration and the Department of Commerce. But already the idea has travelled through the Foreign Export Council, the National Association of Manufacturers and other associations to the conservative manufacturer and trader who have now been promised all kinds of assistance. Secondly, something like an economic revolution has taken place in the U. S. A. of which its own people are fully conscious but whose significance is yet to be understood by the rest of the world. The economic ideas and doctrines of the U. S. A. at the present time as expressed in terms of freer trade, export drive, removal of barriers of all kinds multi-lateral clearing etc., are all the outcome of this new industrial revolution in America which is faced with enormous productive capacity seeking outlets all the world over. Indeed the coming decades will witness a terribly difficult and complicated situation. The pressure of America continuously to sell but not matched with an equal ability and willingness to buy will create for her as well as the rest of the world problems whose solution will revolutionize economic thought and doctrines. Be this as it may, the interest of the U. S. A. in export trade all over the world is one of the aftermaths of the war of which due note should be taken.

The war has already anticipated this evolution in the foreign trade policy of America. For reasons well known she has been the only country which could feed and equip the fighting soldiers of foreign countries. Confining, however, our attention to India, our exports to and imports from the U. S. A. have increased substantially in value. While in 1938-39 exports from India were of the value of Rs. 14 crores, the value increased to Rs. 46·8 crores in 1941-42 while imports increased from Rs. 9·8 crores to about Rs. 12 crores. In 1944-45 the latest year for which figures are available exports increased to Rs. 33 crores but imports increased phenomenally to Rs. 50·5 crores. These figures are exclusive of Lend-Lease and reciprocal aids. The significance of these figures lies in the fact that India's share of U. S. trade both in exports and imports has appreciably increased from 1% of the total exports of the U. S. A. and 6 to 7 per cent of the total of India's imports, they have now averaged about 5 per cent and 17 per cent respectively. Indeed in 1944-45 imports from the U. S. A. into India were larger than from any other country and for the first time the U. S. A. has outstripped even U. K. and occupied the first place in the import trade of India. But an equally significant feature is that for the first time in her long trade relations India's active balance with the U. S. A. has been turned into a passive balance of nearly Rs. 17 crores.

The significance of these changes should not, however, be unduly magnified. The war has, as is only to be expected, distorted the pattern and direction of

world trade, through the subordination of all commercial and economic considerations to military necessities. No light is thrown by the present volume of trade or by its distribution or direction on the volume and distribution of future trade. The U. S. A. as the arsenal of war was supplying to every country under Lend-Lease and commercially much more than any other country in the world. Indeed, the value of Lend-Lease goods sent to India since the beginning of the programme up to June 1945 amounted to the enormous total of over 2 billion dollars or Rs. 666 crores and odd. Commercial exports also increased greatly but while some of the increase may be a permanent gain, how far the rate of increase will be sustained in the years to come will depend upon a number of factors. Again the fact that the U. S. imports into India are greater than those from any other country is not surprising considering the state of starvation for imports in which India was kept during the war and the incapacity of Britain to meet India's urgent rehabilitation and replacement demands. But how far can the passive balance of trade with the U. S. A. continue in the future will again depend upon the relative capacities of the U. K., and the rest of the world on the one hand and the U. S. A. on the other to fulfil India's needs and the willingness of the U. S. A. to provide India with sufficient dollar resources.

Before, however, assessing the future trade prospects and relations in the light of probable and foreseeable circumstances, it would be well to dwell a little on the nature of the present trade between the two countries. Of imports from the U. S. A. in 1944, machinery accounted for 16 per cent, electric and industrial machinery about 15 per cent, tobacco 10 per cent, medicines 7.5 per cent, coal tar products 6 per cent, soap and toilet 6 per cent and lumber products about 5 per cent. As regards exports to the U. S. A., the major items are jute and jute goods (over 15 per cent) tea, shellac, cashew nuts, mica, leather and skins, carpet wool, carpets, rugs etc. But, the importance of the export and import articles is not to be measured only in terms of value. India occupies a very high rank in the import trade of the U. S. A. in respect of some articles. For example, in 1944 Indian lac and shellac represented 100 per cent of the U. S. import of these articles, burlap 99 per cent, jute bags 84 per cent, celery and psyllin seeds 100 per cent, tea 60 per cent, eastern nuts 91 per cent and tanned leather 95 per cent. Thus some of India's goods are very important articles of import into the U. S. A.

Similarly in respect of imports, the U. S. share of India's imports was fairly high in respect of motor cars, instruments and appliances, machinery, particularly electrical machinery, chemicals, hardware etc. There is no doubt that these imports are likely to increase in relative importance on account of a number of circumstances. The elimination for a considerable period of Japan and Germany from the world trade, the devastation and destruction of Europe, the reduced capacity of Britain and the enhanced capacity of the U. S. A. render almost certain that the U. S. share will increase in the future. Evidence of such possibilities is already available in the latest statistics showing markedly increased exports to India of coal tar products, paper, medicines, saw mill products, etc. which represent partly replacements of goods formerly imported

from Germany, the Scandinavian countries and Japan. In some directions, the U. S. A. is undoubtedly well placed to meet India's demands. In the sphere of agricultural implements, road equipment, hydro-electric, irrigation and flood control machinery, railway engines, wagons and other equipment, automobiles and parts, building machinery and equipment, aviation plants, cement equipment, sugar-refinery plants, telegraph and telephones, laundry equipment, sewing machines and radios, films, photographic and other materials and a host of other durable goods, e.g., refrigerators, air conditioning plants etc., the U. S. A. enjoys special advantages which she might fully utilize. India needs them. Although the war failed to bring about any vast increase in her productive equipment, she has plans of rapid industrialization and economic development embracing agriculture, irrigation, transport, hydro-electricity and the establishment of heavy chemicals, heavy engineering and other industries. Her productive equipment has been so badly overworked that even the replacement demand will be of an enormous size. Thus all conditions point to an acceleration in the volume of trade between the two countries.

III

It would, however, be too optimistic to think that these factors would necessarily lead to the desired results. A very large number of difficulties and hurdles have yet to be overcome before the position can become clear and certain. In the first place during the war and now even after its end, British policy has been definitely designed to prevent Indian orders reaching U. S. for fulfilment. The controls that have been in operation in the name of conservation of shipping and exchange have been effectively utilized to prevent any diversion of orders to America. Up to a certain stage in the war this policy had justification; but even after the circumstances warranting such action had ceased to exist, exchange control had been continued whose main object is to prevent India from utilizing the dollars she has earned. Now that the war is over, one might have expected willingness on the part of Britain to release dollars for Indian needs or in the alternative to be anxious to supply the needs of the overworked Indian industry. But British manufacturers have shown little anxiety to meet the urgent demands of Indian industrialists.

Secondly, owing to a variety of causes India's need for dollars has been inadequately appreciated in America. It is true that the implication of blocked balances has been partially understood—at least to the extent of realizing that those countries holding the balances would serve as a great preferential market for British goods. But judging from the terms of the recent Anglo-American Financial Agreement, the U. S. A. has been content to get a generally favourable environment for multi-lateral trade but has not cared to ensure the unblocking of sterling at an early date. Indeed the abandoning of the original proposal whereby a portion of the credit to Britain was to be earmarked for transfer to these 'Creditors' was as significant as it was disappointing to India. Unless some other arrangement could be made whereby India could get enough dollars there can be no great increase in the purchase of U. S. capital goods, machinery and equipment. Some dollar credit may be had from the Export-

Import Bank. But the uncertain political situation and the present Government of India which is unrepresentative and obviously temporary are not exactly favourable conditions for the securing of a loan. Thirdly, India is yet to attract the sustained interest of the U.S. manufacturer and trader. Vast as may be the plan which we may have framed, it has not reached the state at which it could be translated into terms of machinery and plant. There has been a feeling in America that India's plans are still in a rudimentary stage and that they have no strong financial and political backing. That feeling apart, the world at present is a strong seller's market and there has been great pressure of demand acting strongly in U. S. market from practically every country in the world. The rehabilitation demands of war ravaged Europe and China and the developmental and reconstruction demands of Latin American and other countries can keep U. S. fully employed for the next few years, and India is only one of the many such countries which will have to take their place in the buyers' queue. India has also not made enough allowances for the degree of essential adjustment needed to put through a vast programme of economic development. Industrial development is essentially a social process involving much more than the mere installation of machines. As one writer has put it, it is 'fundamentally educational, organizational and political rather than mechanical.' Thus the capacity to use and digest foreign capital goods will have to be spread over a period of time. U. S. prices too are, speaking generally, higher than British prices and compared to continental prices even more so. As Mr. Birla observed on his return from America, the mass production machinery and methods cannot be adopted all at once in India without a lot of previous preparation and planning.

These are not the only handicaps. While there has been undeniably a great deal of interest in the U.S.A. in Indian industrial development and a keen desire to participate in it through collaboration in the technical and financial sphere, a number of issues have arisen—some minor, some major—which must be satisfactorily solved. Political uncertainty is certainly a factor which the U. S. businessman is rightly unwilling to ignore. Secondly he wants to be assured of no discrimination in transferring his earnings without loss. These apart, on the terms of financial co-operation there is a gap between the point of view of the Indian businessmen and the American businessmen. The former is willing to buy technical skill, know-how, patents and processes and pay reasonable prices therefor. He would also import capital equipment and machinery by paying for it currently or getting a loan through the Government or privately. But as regards financial partnership, he would either not have it or if he does need it, it should be only on the basis of control and management in his own hands with only minority interest for the American. While a considerable number may be found there to whom these terms are acceptable, there is no doubt that in general these are regarded as unattractive. American investors feel that unless they have an equal, if not a determining, voice in the production, accounting, quality of product and marketing methods, their participation could not reasonably be expected. There are, of course, extremists on either side. The big U. S. firms are prepared to come and establish themselves

independently and fight their battles. To them even the prospect of a national Government which may strongly desire their collaboration with Indian capital and business has not been frightening because they are too conscious of their economic (and political) power. But these cases apart, there are sufficient of U. S. firms with whom it should be possible to enter into an arrangement which would be satisfactory to both while fully safeguarding the Indian position.

It would be incomplete in any survey of future economic relations between the two countries not to refer to India's own economic policy and action which may have an adverse effect at least from the short-term point of view. India's industrialization cannot but improve trade between the two countries. Indeed, a poverty-stricken country of 400 millions cannot have the buying power of even the 12 million people of Canada, U. S. A.'s immediate neighbour. But in the short period India may be compelled to adopt an import policy which would limit her import of consumers' goods and conserve available exchange only for the more essential producers' goods. She may also be compelled to resort to protection and other forms of assistance whose immediate effect may be to check imports. Thus all sorts of balancing factors will operate determining the volume and share of the trade between the two countries.

But these considerations are of the order of smalls, compared to some major and fundamental issues. Those issues are two: Is the World (and in particular the U. S. A.) going to maintain a high level of economic activity? Secondly, will America have the wisdom to let the rest of the world have sufficient dollar resources to buy U. S. goods? In other words will America buy as much as she sells? Between 1929 and 1932 the supply of dollars to the world shrank from 7.4 billion dollars to 2.4 billion dollars—by as much as 5 billion. Such variability in the economic behaviour of America if it recurs would spell disaster to the world. The economic weight of America is so great and dominant that the future happiness of the millions of the world depends upon the wisdom and ability of the people of that country. Other countries will have to adjust themselves to her conduct and behaviour. One may well doubt if the U. S. A.'s economic and political power has been matched with capacity and sense and responsibility to be able to fulfil her inevitable rôle.

SOVIET COLLECTIVISM : AN ANALYSIS*

By TARLOK SINGH

THREE different terms are commonly used to describe a system of social and economic organization which is the antithesis of individualism: communism, socialism and collectivism. Both socialism and communism imply a system of 'planned production for community consumption.' In communism dis-

*An address delivered in New Delhi on 12 October, 1945 at a meeting of the Indian Council of World Affairs, Dr. P. S. Lokanathan presiding.

tribution is in accordance with need, in socialism, in accordance with the quantity and quality of work done. Article 11 of the Soviet constitution prescribes the principle: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to work performed.' Thus Soviet Russia is, by definition, a socialist and not a communist State.

The distinction between socialism and collectivism is not equally sharp. Every system of socialism seeks the fulfilment of collective interest. But the term 'collectivism' expresses the most important aim and the dominant method of socialism more clearly perhaps than any other word. Collectivism is, above all, a principle of social organization. The object of this paper is to examine the practical applications of this principle in three different spheres of economic activity in Soviet Russia, namely, industry, trade and agriculture.

As a principle of social organization, collectivism has to take into account two separate sets of factors : (1) factors governing the type of activity to which it is sought to be applied, and (2) factors peculiar to the particular social, economic and historical environment in which it is put to practical use. Thus, collectivism is essentially an elastic concept, and will take different forms in different countries and its practical expressions will vary with different types of human activity. If it is true that the future of a very large proportion of mankind, and particularly of Asiatic peoples, depends on the successful organization and adaptation to local conditions of the idea of collectivism, then it is also necessary to realize that this idea stands largely above dogma and doctrine and can fit into a thousand moulds.

It is, therefore, all the more necessary to make an objective study of the principle of collectivism in the one country which has attempted to apply it. Such objective study is difficult, because Russia is in many ways a unique country and to the outsider information is still not available in sufficient detail. The best one can hope to do is to make successive approximations to a correct analysis of Soviet collectivism. The Soviet system is itself constantly growing and changing, so that collectivism is almost as elastic a social concept within Russia as it is for the world as a whole. Despite these inevitable difficulties, modern Russia is a most valuable case-study in collectivism. In examining the idea of collectivism at work in industry, trade and agriculture, we should endeavour, so far as possible, to disentangle *economic* from *institutional* influences. We may also enquire into the significance of such concessions to individualism as Soviet Russia has made so as to secure a stable social organization, in the preservation of which various parties see their own interest no less than their country's.

INDUSTRY

The 'industrial revolution' made its first impact on Russia through the effort of Peter the Great. He laid the foundations of ship-building, iron, leather, cloth and cordage industries. Labour was provided by serfs. The principal consumers of industrial products were the Army and the Navy and most factories were owned and managed by the State. The capitalistic system was able to develop only after the emancipation in 1861 when free labour

became available. During the period 1892-1903, when Witte was Minister of Finance, foreign loans were taken on a large scale and there was rapid industrial development. In 1917, about 2.35 million workers were engaged in industry. The revolution was followed by a serious relapse, but thanks to the N. E. P., when Russia moved 'one step backwards, to take two steps forward,' the pre-war position was regained by 1926-27. Industrial development during the first and the second five-year plans is a familiar story. Efforts were at first directed mainly to the development of power-producing minerals and metal and metallurgical industries.

The rigours through which the people of Russia passed, particularly during the first five-year plan are due not to collectivism, but to the determination to find the means for capital investment without recourse to foreign loans. The collective principle of organization has been followed perhaps more thoroughly in industry than in any other field of activity. Private enterprise is allowed under license in certain limited occupations, involving in the main the use of one's own skill. Buying raw materials with a view to finishing them for sale is completely forbidden. Professional men—doctors, dentists, lawyers, etc.—are allowed to undertake private practice over and above their regular official work. In certain classes of goods co-operative enterprise and individual artisanship are permitted. The object of this concession is to secure high-class luxury goods and services for the *élite*—goods and services which the vast mass of people cannot secure and which public enterprises cannot supply. It may be noted here that in the field of industry it is the State, representing the community as a whole, which directly fulfils the collective interest. It is curious that, although electricity and technique are available, no attempt has been made to decentralize industry, or to add an industrial side to the activities of collective farms. How far this is due to an instinctive preference for big works and big enterprises and how far to purely economic reasons cannot be judged.

TRADE

Foreign trade is entirely in the hands of the State and Government monopoly of foreign trade is now part of the constitution. Foreign trade is conducted through a number of exporting corporations for different commodities. There are also trading corporations to deal with certain specified countries. In some countries special or limited companies are formed, for instance, ROP in U. K.

In internal trade, the organization is more varied and collective and individual interests cross at several points. Two major trading systems exist side by side, one organized directly under the State and the other co-operative in character. The State trading organizations are:—(1) issue warehouses under the control of a disposals board belonging to each industry, (2) State retail shops organized on the chain-store principle (*torgi*), (3) special, as distinct from general, retail shops to meet the needs of higher income groups, (4) model department stores in the larger cities and (5) provision shops under the control of the Union, as opposed to Provincial or Republican administrations, for the sale of products of national food industries. The consumers' co-operative

movement is a pyramidal structure, organized by Districts, Provinces and Republics, based upon the village *sel'po*, and controlled ultimately by a single all-Union organization. There are also a few producers' co-operatives. The State shops and the co-operative shops have both to follow the official prices. The co-operative structure is influenced by the Party on the same lines as collective farms.

Besides shops controlled by the State and the co-operative system, a portion of public demand is satisfied by the free market. This consists in the main of Collective Farm Markets which are in fact based on old peasant markets. In 1935, according to Hubbard, about 25% of peasants' total money income from all sources came from sales in the open market. About 15% of the produce sent for sale belonged to collective farms as such, while 75% belonged to individual members of collective farms. The latter sell the produce of their private allotments as well as such of the produce as they can spare from their receipts from the collective farm itself. Another aspect of the free market consists of the Goods Exchanges, which serve industrial artels producing seasonal and fancy goods and local enterprises seeking to reduce a surplus or make up a deficit.

The working of the price mechanism in a collectivist economy is a subject of peculiar importance and difficulty. In Soviet Russia wholesale prices of manufactured articles are fixed by the State on the basis of estimated production costs plus a surplus or profit to provide for further investment. Retail prices, which all State and co-operative shops follow, are fixed more or less with a view to absorbing the total quantity produced, so that consumption keeps in step with production, but sometimes non-economic considerations are of decisive importance. Zones are fixed for different commodities and within each zone uniform prices prevail. Prices in the collective-farm markets are controlled through the sale of identical commodities at official prices by State and co-operative shops.

Although every attempt is made to give freedom of choice to the consumer and in time improvements will take place, hitherto the consumer has had only a limited choice, both of shops and of products. It is difficult to say how far the distribution system in Soviet Russia is efficient, but it seems that this part of the economy is not yet fully organized and suffers from a number of defects. The pricing process also appears to be somewhat arbitrary and it may well be that it conceals a certain amount of avoidable inefficiency in actual operation. This must at present remain an open question on which, without first-hand knowledge, no definite verdict can be given. It is also worth considering whether and if so, under what circumstances, a collectivistic economy can secure the advantages of an efficient price mechanism.

AGRICULTURE

The revolution in agriculture may be briefly described by means of a few statistics. In 1928, Russia had 25 million separate peasant farms and many of these were in scattered holdings in open fields. In 1940 she had instead 240,000 consolidated collective farms. The average area of a collective

farm is given as 1200 acres by Sumner and 1600 acres by Maynard. The average number of households is 70 to 80 according to Sumner and about 95 according to Maynard. By 1938, three quarters of the land was ploughed by tractors.

This is not the place to examine the processes and methods which went into the Soviet attempt to collectivise agriculture. Many of the features of the collective farm organization in Russia may be traced to the imperious needs of the Russian State at the end of the N. E. P. period. Her agriculture had to pay for imports of capital goods and provide cheap food for the towns. Another object of collectivisation was to facilitate the collection of State dues, whether in kind or in cash. Thus, the charges imposed by the M. T. S. are perhaps heavier than is justified by the service rendered by them. The prices at which the State buys farm produce are said to be far below the real prices. Taxation is by no means light. It may be suggested, therefore, that some of the apparently harsher features of the collective farm system should be kept distinct from the essential principles of collective organization in agriculture.

There are certain other features in collective farming which are more directly associated with indigenous Russian institutions. Pares aptly describes serfdom as the main theme of the history of the Russian people. The legacy of serfdom was, therefore, bound to influence the approach of Soviet leaders to problems of agriculture. At the time of the emancipation in 1861, out of 60 million inhabitants in European Russia, 50 million were peasants. Of these, according to Sumner, over 20 million were 'landlords' serfs' and rather less than 20 million were State peasants whose conditions were only a little better than those of landlords' serfs. The remaining varied much in the degrees of serfdom to which they were subjected. For the vast majority, the Russian proverb expressed the truth: 'The body belongs to the Tsar, the soul to God, and the back to the squire.' In a nascent form serfdom began in the 6th century when Varangians entered Russia as merchant adventurers and traders and stayed on as rulers. It did not, however, crystallize into a fundamental social institution until the 14th century when Polish nobility, who were now supreme in Western Prussia, claimed personal ownership over the bodies of their peasants. Tsar Alexei's code of 1649 'legalized the recovery of run-away peasants without any time limit and in effect introduced the principle of hereditary bondedness.' Historians are agreed that this law did more than any other edict to turn Russian peasants into serfs. Serfdom was further intensified for military reasons in the time of Peter the Great. It reached its apex in the reign of Catherine the Great, when serfs could be bought and sold, 'with or apart from land, in families or singly.' The only saving clause was that public auctions of serfs were forbidden.

Bitter memories survived from these times, and Pares quotes a Russian peasant Deputy's remark long before the Revolution: 'We know your idea of property; my uncle was exchanged for a greyhound.' Sumner quotes another peasant Deputy in the Duma:

'Again we are told property is sacred, inviolable. In my opinion it cannot possibly be inviolable; nothing can be inviolable once the people will it....

Gentlemen of the gentry, do you think that we do not know how you staked us at cards and bartered us for dogs? We know that all that was your sacred, inviolable property. . . . You have stolen our land. . . . This is what the peasants who sent me here said: "the land is ours, we have come here not to buy it but to take it."'

Thus, even before the first World War, in the minds of the Russian masses, the moral basis of property in land had probably ceased to exist. This accounts to some extent for the vengeance which marked the collectivisation of agriculture in the first five year plan. In spite of the Stolypin reforms, by 1916, less than 11% of peasant holdings were free holdings. Even as late as 1926, 'nine-tenths of European Russia preserved its separate strips, its open-field system, with the cattle of all driven over the stubbles of all, and by consequence, its virtually compulsory three-fold rotation' (Maynard). The contrast between this state of affairs and subsequent developments in collective farming emphasizes the measure of the Soviet achievement. The *mir* passed, but it left a tradition of co-operative effort and social cohesion to the *kollehoz*.

With land nationalised and old bonds completely sundered, Soviet Russia had to build new loyalties so as to secure a stable society. This accounts for the title deeds conferred upon collective farms and for individual concessions such as private allotments and the right of peasants to take their own produce to the market. In relation to cattle particularly individualism has been respected. Maynard points out that while the heavier agricultural work is done by the MTS, before 1941, more than half the horse-power in agriculture was provided by animals, and 65% of the cows and calves and more than half of the pigs and sheep in the country are owned and tended by private individuals. In the work-day unit system which regulates remuneration there is a powerful response to individual aspirations. Maynard rightly describes the collective-farm system as an ingenious combination of the individualistic with the socialistic farm, worked out by trial and error. This capacity to experiment, to provide new social and individual incentives is a tribute to the vitality of the system. It fulfils the spirit of Lenin's dictum: 'Our teaching is not dogma. . . . Life will show us. . . . We know the direction. . . . But only the experience of millions, as they move to the task, will discover the road.' These words aptly describe the way in which free men should view the idea and method of collectivism.

CENTRAL PROBLEMS

The collective economic interest of the community may be expressed in three different ways:—

(1) The State, acting in the name of the community, may make itself responsible for a particular type of enterprise. Thus, in Russia, the State dominates the whole field of industrial production and foreign trade and also operates a very large number of State farms.

(2) An enterprise may be undertaken by a body of people acting co-operatively or jointly, but according to the pattern prescribed by the State. Consumers' co-operation, collective farms and industrial co-operatives are, in their different ways, expressions of this method of organization.

(3) Individuals may operate as individuals, but in accordance with rules prescribed and enforced by the State. This happens in Russia, for instance, in respect of professional men, individual artisans and a small number of peasants.

Collectivism in any country is, therefore, in its economic aspect, compounded of these three ingredients—organization of activity by the State, by groups and by individuals. The extent to which each method is pursued and the manner in which the different methods are combined in different economic activities will determine the character of the system as a whole.

Three other points may be briefly noticed. A collectivistic economy has to reconcile collectivism with individual interest. We have seen how this balance has been sought in Soviet Russia. This social process, again, will depend partly on economic factors and partly on institutional circumstances. Secondly, if collectivism is to function efficiently, it has to evolve a suitable price system. In this respect, in Soviet Russia, we are not yet near an adequate solution. Finally, a collectivist economy has to find a new type of leadership and new systems of social and individual incentives. Soviet Russia has turned to a single party for leadership, both open and hidden, in almost every type of organized activity. This method has its drawbacks. If collectivism is to make a larger appeal, it has to be conceived humanistically and organized so that it accords more closely with the spirit and ideals of social democracy. In the matter of incentives, however, Soviet Russia with its Stakhanovites and orders of merit and differential incomes, has already worked out social techniques of the highest value.

THE RIGHT OF SECESSION*

By R. SUBRAHMANYAM

ONE of the most difficult problems that a federal State has to face is the right claimed, and often attempted to be exercised, by one or more of the units to secede from the whole. In the united States of America, the southern states led by South Carolina brought this question to the fore in 1861, and the issue was decided by the judgment of battle. In 1936, Western Australia, one of the units of the Australian Federation, made a petition to the British Parliament for the right to secede from the Commonwealth. This problem of secession is, perhaps, inherent in the very nature of a federal system where the centripetal and the centrifugal forces which constantly struggle for supremacy have to be balanced. The success of a federal constitution may rightly be said to depend upon its ability to maintain the separate political existence of its units in those matters where individuality enriches national life without impairing the national authority in those matters where uniformity protects and strengthens national existence.

In India this question of the right of the units of an All-India Union to

*This Essay won the Sir E. H. Wallace Gold medal, recently awarded by the Bar Council, Madras for the best essay on the subject, Ed.

secede therefrom has assumed very great importance in recent years, especially after the failure of the Cripps Mission in 1942. One of the provisions of the declaration made by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British Government was 'the right of any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides.' This gives a British Indian Province the liberty of not joining an All-India Union, and it has been suggested, as a solution of India's tangled political problem, that after the establishment of the Indian Federation, any State or Province may be given the right to withdraw from it. One of the questions formulated by the Sapru Committee was: 'After an All-India Union is established, should the units of the Union be given the right of secession from it and, if so, on what conditions?' The Committee have rightly declared that in no circumstances should the units be allowed to withdraw from an All-India Union.

How has this problem arisen, and been solved, in other federal States?

IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The United States of America is a federal State, and its constitution, made by a convention of the thirteen original states held at Philadelphia in 1787, was accepted by the required number of nine states and came into effect in 1789. Though the working of the constitution was smooth and successful, controversies that took place between the federal Centre and the states over the question of sovereignty were bitter. There were those who argued that the constitution was only a compact or treaty between the states. The Union was a result of this compact. The people of each of the states acting in their sovereign and separate capacity created it. At the time of the formation of the Union, each state and its people formed a separate political community. There was no such concept as *one* political community of all the people of all the states. The compact theory was the one most prevalent and most widely held at the time of the establishment of the Federation. Jefferson and Madison were its advocates. The Kentucky and Virginia resolutions (1799) clearly stated that the constitution of the United States was a compact to which each state was a party. 'Each party has an equal right to judge for itself as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress.' The provision in the constitution that 'the ratification by the conventions of the nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution' may seem to indicate that the fathers of the constitution regarded it as a compact between the states. This is supported by Madison when he stated that 'this assent and ratification is to be given by the people not as individuals composing one entire nation, but as composing the distinct and independent states to which they respectively belong.' The states were distinct political societies living their own life at the time of the establishment of the Union; they created the Federation for certain purposes by voluntarily giving up some of their powers.

Among the exponents and strong advocates of this theory of state rights, the name of Calhoun stands first. He asserted that the constitution was a compact and was so regarded by its framers; that the states were sovereign; that sovereign-

ty was absolute and indivisible; that the states created the Union, and that what they created they could destroy. What sovereign states made in 1789, they could re-make in 1832. The logical result of this was that the federal government was only an agent of the original states, and therefore the federal system depended upon their assent. One of the states could declare any federal law unconstitutional and null and void. Nullification was claimed as a constitutional right to preserve the Union. If such a step did not drive wisdom into the heads of the federal authorities, so much the worse for them: the ignored state had the legal right to withdraw from the Union, and dissolve the Federation. This would be an extreme and a very painful step to take, but what else could a sovereign state do? The right to secede was an indefeasible one, and could be exercised if there was a deliberate, palpable and dangerous use of power not delegated.

Hamilton, Webster and Marshall stood forth as the champions of the idea of National Unity who regarded the Union as permanent from which it was flat rebellion for a state to secede. Hamilton urged that the states were not the creative or the creating units of the Union. They were only agents of the people, and they—the people of the whole country considered *en masse*—created the constitution, the Union. The real federating Units were the people themselves. There was the preamble to the constitution to support this :

‘We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America.’

Daniel Webster in whom Calhoun found his opponent declared in ringing words that the constitution was not a contract, but the result of a contract, meaning by contract no more than assent:

‘Founded on assent, it is a government proper. The people have agreed to make a constitution; but when made, that constitution becomes what its name imports. It is no longer a mere agreement.’

- And Chief Justice Marshall in delivering the judgment of the Supreme Court in *McCulloch vs. Maryland* (1819) expounded the nature of the constitution. He said:

‘The government proceeds directly from the people; is “ordained and established” in the name of the people. The assent of the states in their sovereign capacity is implied in calling a convention and thus submitting that instrument to the people. But the people were at perfect liberty to accept it or reject it, and their act was final. It required not the affirmation, and could not be negated by the state Government. The Constitution, when thus adopted, was of complete obligation. The Government of the Union, then, is emphatically and truly a government of the people; in form and substance it emanates from them.’

These two theories were warmly canvassed throughout the Union; meanwhile judicial interpretation of the constitution had vitally affected the eco-

conomic interests of the agrarian South. Its economy depended upon slavery, and the industrial North wanted to abolish it. But the Supreme Court in *Scott vs. Sandford* (1857) declared that the Congress had no power to control slavery. Only a constitutional amendment could endow it with this power, and the southern states were too strong for any such attempt to be made. The issue was raised to a climax: when the southern states led by South Carolina actually passed legislation withdrawing from the Union, the North declared war. It was a war to the knife. What arguments could not decide, blood and iron decided—against secession. Eighty years have passed since Appomattox (1865) and it may be stated today that every state on entering the Union is taken to have renounced its sovereignty and that the national Government is permanent. Dr. Finer has thus summed up the constitutional position in the United States of America:

‘The Union is properly regarded as a national body, the states being within the system and not capable of acting outside. The Court is the only judge of the relationship between the parts and the whole of the constitution. The Constitution in all its provisions looks to an indestructible Union composed of indestructible states. Revocation and secession are impossible for the Union is perpetual.’

IN AUSTRALIA

While in the United States of America this question of the right of secession was decided by force of arms, in the Commonwealth of Australia it was debated, submitted to a referendum of the people of Western Australia by its government, and ultimately taken to the Parliament of Great Britain. The spearhead of revolt was Western Australia, one of the units of the Australian Federation. The Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, 1900, set up a federal Commonwealth in Australia, and the state of Western Australia was one of the units of this federation. Thirty two years later, in 1932, the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly of Western Australia passed the Secession Referendum Act, 1932, which authorized the Government of the state to submit to a referendum of the people two questions, one of them being: ‘Are you in favour of the state of Western Australia withdrawing from the Federal Commonwealth established under the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act?’ Sixty six per cent of those who went to the booths voted in the affirmative.

The case of Western Australia to withdraw from the Union was a simple one. This state is predominantly agricultural, and has always been so. The Great Depression of 1929 uprooted its economy, and the discontent felt by the weaker and poorer states against federal policy was sharpened. Western Australia, South Australia and Tasmania—all agrarian—felt that federal policy was dictated by the industrial states. The Commonwealth was administered at their expense, for the benefit of the merchant princes of Sydney and Melbourne. As in the United States, so in Australia, tariffs were the chief source of controversy. It was also felt by these states that federal grants were unevenly distributed.

The leaders of political parties in Western Australia felt that they had acted unwisely in accepting federation. They began to agitate for its dissolution. So successful were they, and so bitter was the feeling against remaining in a Union that had so unjustly treated it, that when a referendum was taken in Western Australia on this question of secession it resulted in an overwhelming majority in favour of it. But as this had no legal effect, the Government of Western Australia presented a petition in 1934 to the British Parliament asking for the introduction of a Bill enabling her to withdraw from the Commonwealth. A committee of both Houses of Parliament formed in January 1935 to consider the propriety of receiving the petition reported in May that it was not proper for Parliament to receive it. Eminent counsel appeared for both the secessionists and the Commonwealth Government.

A perusal of the Constitution Act, 1900, shows that the Act consists of two parts. The nine 'covering' clauses with the preamble form the first part, and it cannot be amended or repealed by the Federal Parliament. To do so will be beyond its competence and power. And it is by virtue of these clauses that 'one indissoluble Federal Commonwealth' was set up in Australia. The rest of the constitution can be amended by the Commonwealth Parliament. The Imperial Parliament alone, therefore, can provide for the secession of one of the states and thus dissolve the 'indissoluble' Commonwealth. Western Australia argued that economic, political and legal forces operating over decades had forced her to ask for withdrawal from the Union. Judicial decisions of the High Court of Australia, for instance, had resulted in 'the almost total whittling away of the powers of the states.'

The Committee reported against receiving the petition. They agreed that the Imperial Parliament alone was competent to dissolve the Commonwealth or to allow any state to secede from it. It was even legally entitled to do so against the wishes of the Commonwealth Parliament and Government. But to do so would be outside the competence of the Parliament of Great Britain, 'if the established constitutional conventions of the Empire are to be observed.' The Commonwealth of Australia Act, 1900, was enacted by the Imperial Parliament only when the people of the several Australian states had agreed to unite in a single indissoluble Commonwealth. By enacting that constitution Parliament was giving effect to the voice of the people of Australia as a whole, and not to the voice of any individual state. 'It will be only when invoked by the voice of the people of Australia that the Parliament of United Kingdom can properly vary or dissolve that Federal Union.' It would be, therefore, beyond the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Great Britain to allow for the secession of Western Australia from the Union.

The position comes to this: Section 128 of the Constitution Act does not provide for the alteration of the constitution so as to allow a state to withdraw from the Union. The federal power of change, as Professor Keith has said, can be exercised only within the limits of consistency of an indissoluble federal constitution. The Imperial Parliament at Westminster alone has, in law, full competence to dissolve the federation, and it will do this only when invoked by the people of Australia as a whole. And it may safely be asserted that no

Government would admit the right of secession from its own allegiance. To do so will be to commit political suicide.

IN THE U. S. S. R.

• The U. S. S. R. is a federation of socialist republics. The unique feature of its constitution is the right given to each constituent republic to secede freely from the Union. No other federal constitution gives this right to its units. The 1924 constitution and the 1936 constitution recognized this right. The only point to be considered is whether this legal right can be effectively exercised by those that are supposed to enjoy it. This right 'freely to secede' has to be placed along with the general tendency of the constitution towards centralization. The constitution that was inaugurated in 1924 provided that 'the responsible cabinet of ministers of each constituent republic shall admit as members the official agents, delegates or plenipotentiaries of the peoples commissars of the U. S. S. R.' for each of the exclusively federal departments. Their voice was either decisive or advisory. Beatrice and Sydney Webb in their monumental work on Soviet communism have stated that these federal agents did not confine themselves to any particular class of questions. They took part in all the discussions of the Cabinet. The learned authors observe: 'This mere presence in the local cabinet in such numbers even with no more than an "advisory" or consultative voice must necessarily exercise constant influence towards unity of policy and action throughout the whole of the U. S. S. R.' One is not sure whether such a clause finds a place in the present constitution.

The fact is that this right of secession is in practice valueless. First, we have the weighty views of Stalin that the Federation of Soviet Republics is only 'a transitional stage towards complete unity,' and that it must be interpreted 'by the concrete factors of the international situation, by the interests of the Revolution.' The recent changes whereby Ukraine and White Russia are allowed to establish embassies in other States and pursue their own foreign policy are merely intended to enable the U. S. S. R. to have more votes in any International Organization. Secondly, there is only one political party in the whole Union, the Communist Party, and its very structure and policy strengthen the centripetal forces. 'The ubiquitous guidance and persuasion of the essentially unitary Communist Party, composed of members of every race and every distinctive culture in the U. S. S. R. ensures not only unity but also all the centralization that is necessary.'

It must be noted that during the great purge of 1936-37 one of the charges against the accused was that they plotted for the secession of some territory or the other from the Union. As Florinsky says it is perfectly clear that the exercise of the right of secession is effectively prevented by the structure of the Soviet State and the communist doctrine that governs it.

Thus we see that in the United States of America the Union was declared to be perpetual and the right of a state to secede settled by the force of arms; in the Commonwealth of Australia no state could withdraw from the federation unless the Parliament of the United Kingdom invoked by the united voice

of the people of Australia, passed an Act allowing for such secession; in the U. S. S. R. this right is merely illusory. Perhaps the only legal method for a unit to secede from the federation will be the amendment of the constitution permitting it to withdraw from the Union.

RIGHT TO SECEDE UNDESIRABLE

It is not difficult to see why this right of secession should not be given to the units of a federation. No one will sign his own death warrant; no government should admit the right of secession from its own loyalty and provide for its termination. To do so will be to write its own obituary notice. It will be a grave mistake and a crime against posterity. When there is a provision in the constitution allowing for the secession of a unit, there will be the natural tendency for it to become recalcitrant. It may even say: 'If you, the federal government or legislature do this or enact that, I shall walk out.' The sword of Damocles will be eternally hanging over the federation. And when a member of the All-India Union goes out of it, it destroys the organism as it then exists. The remaining states remain in a different federation, with different problems, with a different organization. As has been well said: 'The effect of a federation is to bring into existence a new organism, a new nation with its own political organization, its own financial organization, all bound together inextricably, and to kill that organism is something entirely different from the mere dissolution of an agreement to federate.'

When a member of the Federation is given the liberty to withdraw from the Union, it can always force others to concede all its claims. Appeasement will become the rule, and government by the minority, the normal practice. The alternative will be between impotence and war. In such circumstances, the very existence of government will be at stake. There cannot be any peaceful development and ordered growth of society. And in a country like India a minimum of continuity in administration is essential. How can a government be assured of this if one of the units of the federation can threaten its very existence?

It cannot be emphasized too much that in the ultimate analysis the essential idea of secession is civil war, flat rebellion. To base a constitution on this idea is to build on foundations of sand. One cannot do better, in ending this, than recollecting what the great Abraham Lincoln said on this question of secession:

'If a minority in such a case (when it is dissatisfied or aggrieved) will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will divide and ruin them: for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such minority. Plainly the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of minority as a permanent arrangement is wholly inadmissible: so that rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left.'

NETHERLAND INDIES*

By ASOKA MEHTA

A PEOPLE struggling for freedom has always evoked India's instinctive sympathy. In 1830, when the Spanish people got a constitution, Raja Rammohun Roy celebrated the occasion with illumination. For over a century we have walked in the Raja's footsteps. Our solidarity with China, Abyssinia and Republican Spain was clearly expressed. But never have we been moved so deeply and passionately as by the gallant struggle for freedom being waged by Indonesia. In that struggle we seem to experience the zest and anxiety of actual participation. That is not surprising. A thousand years of common life bind us together. Indonesia is verily the bone of our bones and flesh of our flesh. Again in the emergence of nationalism and the vicissitudes through which it has grown to robust manhood in the two countries, there is such a striking similarity that the sense of fellow-feeling is exceptionally strong. It will be useful to provide intellectual content to our instinctive sympathy.

Physical Features—Netherland Indies comprise nearly 2,000 islands, the most important of which are Java and Sumatra.

Although about four times the size of Java, Sumatra has only a population of one-fifth of the former. The length of Java island is 622 miles, while its breadth varies from 55 to 121 miles. The area is 42,000,000 square miles giving the astounding density of 1,700 persons per square mile. Lying as it does close to the Equator, Java is a land of perpetual summer. The sea breezes keep the climate equitable and assure sufficient rainfall.

A mountain chain runs from west to east and it is flanked by lowlands that are continuous on the north. Most of the rivers flow northwards, and, barring two, are useless for navigation. The rivers, however, have been fully harnessed for irrigation—nearly 50 per cent of the cultivated area is irrigated.

A little over 40 per cent of the total land surface is cultivated, the rest is covered by mountains and forests.

* * *

Ancient Ties—Hindu influence made itself felt from the beginning of the Christian era. From the eighth century, since the days of the Sailendras, Java and India have been tied in bonds of close association. Under the Chola Kings, Java formed a part of an Indian Kingdom. Cultural relations have been even more intimate than political. In literature, *Ramayana* and *Mahabharat* are the staple of the old Javanese. The names of rivers are transplanted: Gomati and Chandrabhaga. Language is Sanskrit. In music, dancing and art the influence of Hinduism is patent. The famous temple of Barbudur is the greatest monument of the Indo-Javanese art. The last vestige of Hindu rule lingered on till 1767.

The Colonial Era—Netherlands was the leading commercial and naval power in the seventeenth century. Dutch exports then reached figures that were not

*An address delivered in Ahmedabad on 9 November 1945 at a meeting of the Indian Council of World Affairs.

equalled by England till 1740. European countries on the Atlantic were furiously engaged in the organization of oceanic commerce. The English East India Company was formed in 1599, and the Dutch East India Company (V. O. C.) was established in 1602. The latter concentrated its energies on the East Indies. Combining political pressure with commercial transactions, it built up a fabulously profitable trade. For two centuries dividends ranging from 12½ to 50 per cent were declared. The oppressive system was not established without a series of serious conflicts with the people of Java. In 1740 the Dutch carried out a wholesale massacre of the Chinese in Java. Among the various uprisings that punctuated the Dutch Government's career of conquest the most serious was the one organized by a half-caste, Peter Eberfeld. These revolts drained the resources of the Company and it had to be wound up in 1798.

* * *

Economic Conditions—The population of the Archipelago is nearly 65 millions of whom 1,40,000 are Europeans and 2, 50,000 are Eurasians and domiciled Europeans. The East Indies have been famous for their fabulous riches; illimitable quantities of rubber, sugar, pepper, rice, tea, coffee, oil, iron and quinine flow out of them. 90% of world's quinine, 50% of tobacco, 20% of tin and 10% of oil come from there.

Almost half of Sumatra is held under lease by the Handels-Vereeniging of Amsterdam, the biggest enterprise in the islands. Its Chairman was Dr. Colijn, once the Prime Minister of Holland.

The Agrarian Law of 1870 put an end to the Culture System: compulsory cultivation of sugar cane was abolished and sugar estates were leased to private companies. They were, however, granted the exclusive privilege to use the irrigation water during day, the small peasants being permitted to draw the water only at night. This 'Day and Night' system has provoked continuous unrest.

170 Sugar farm-factories produce one-fifth of the world's supply of sugar.

Of the industries in Java, only 15½ per cent belonged to the Dutch, and 61 per cent was represented by British, American, and Japanese interests, the remaining 23½ per cent was owned by the Chinese. Extensive tobacco and rubber plantations are held by American and British 'giants': the U. S. Rubber, Good Year Rubber, Hawaii, Sumatra Rubber, Standard Oil of New Jersey. A significant sector of the economy: railways, coal-mines, etc., is State-owned and managed.

The wages of the workmen are very low: from 5 to 18 cents a day, and till recently forced labour was common. Even now the system of indentured labour continues. The Government was wont to demand labour rent to build roads, bridges and canals. The Dutch Managers receive extravagant remunerations, ranging from \$30,000 to \$100,000 a year.

Till 1929, the Dutch used to draw \$ 15,000,000 per year from their Colonies.

The saving grace of the economy is that land is inalienable in Java. No foreigner can buy land; he can only lease it. A peasant cannot be dispossessed even for non-payment of debt.

Administrative Organization.—The administration is in the hands of a Governor-General appointed by the Dutch sovereign. He wields greater power than the Viceroy of India. He is assisted by the 'Council of the East Indies' consisting (up to the year 1930) of five members, usually senior civil servants. In 1930, the number was raised to seven, to accommodate two Indonesians.

The islands are divided into 'residencies' which are administered by Dutch Residents. Under the Resident there is a hierarchy of European and native officials. There are two systems of education and two sets of laws and courts—for Europeans and Javanese. The principal native official, under the Resident, is called Regent; he is usually selected from ancient noble families—thus the link with the feudal past is maintained. The real authority is, however, in the hands of 25,000 highly paid Dutch functionaries.

By Act of 16 December 1916, Volksraad or People's Council was set up in the East Indies. It was merely an advisory body that had to be consulted by the Governor-General on certain specific subjects such as the budget, appropriation bills, etc. In 1926 the constitution was revised. Wider legislative powers were given to the Volksraad, and its membership was raised to 60 of whom 39 were elected and 21 were nominated. The franchise is confined to just one per cent of the population.

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Emergence of Nationalism.—Till the fifteenth century Java was a Hindu country. As Professor C. C. Burg of the University of Leiden has pointed out: 'Nowhere in the Archipelago has Hinduism been able to exercise the same steady influence as in Java.' And when the islands were converted to Islam it was done, as Snouch Hurgronje has repeatedly pointed out, by missionaries from India. No ineluctable conflict has grown between the two streams of culture. The Moslem monarch of Java has no objection to reckoning the heroes of the *Mahabharat* amongst his ancestors next to the Prophet. Ranggawarsita, the last great poet at the Javanese Court, his royal master was still the descendant of Arjun as well as of Muhammad, and the gods of the ancient Indian tales were for him a living reality. It was the Javanese genius, the 'agama Java' that breathed the spirit of reconciliation. There is such a sturdy pride in the past that a Javanese youth is prouder of the glorious achievements of Hindu-Javanese period than of the recent and less brilliant Muslim age. A real territorial nationalism with roots in the layered history of centuries has grown up.

When the Dutch came to the Indies they formed a new superstratum so that the already dualistic society became a tripartite one. For the benefit of their commerce they killed the competitive trade and shipping of the Javanese nobility. The culture-system, introduced by the Dutch, interfered with agriculture and developed into a forced cultivation. It impoverished the peasantry and depressed the nobility. This degradation was insupportable for the proud imperious caste, which considered itself in civilization far superior to the foreign ruler.

The inevitable result was violent explosions, the last big opposition movement was of Dipanegara in 1825-30.

The political opposition was accompanied by religious and cultural efflorescence. Against the proselytizing efforts of the Christian missionaries the Muhammadans asserted themselves. For years 'prang sabil,' a holy war, was carried on against the alien rulers by the faithful followers of the Prophet. The reformation that was wrought among the Muslims of India by Shah Waliullah, his family and followers, thus, had its counter-part in Indonesia.

With the consolidation of the foreign rule and the spread of European influence there emerged a clamour for re-orientation of outlook—the inspiration came from Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. As Goldziher has pointed out the impetus towards modernism came from India and the tendency was further fostered by the *Manarites* of Cairo.

The third phase, as in India, was of deeper and truer renaissance. The emphasis shifted from innovations, *bida lughawiya* to the removal of corruptions and return to pristine purity—*bida shariya*. Indonesia passed through the three phases—of withdrawal, acceptance, and integration—almost contemporaneously with similar developments in India, and always learning from India.

Political Developments.—The years 1909-29 witnessed phenomenal economic expansion in Java: the exports increased twenty three fold in the two decades. They were also the years filled with political unrest. The old tradition of a saviour, *ratu adil*, coming to free Java continued to our times. Dipanegara had constituted himself a *ratu adil* and there have been endless successors to him.

Since the beginning of this century discontent has been articulating itself through political organizations. The first such organization was *Budi Utama* (Beautiful Endeavour), formed in 1908. It was a moderate body confined to Javanese upper classes, intellectuals and civil servants.

In 1912 a mass organization called *Sarekat Islam* was formed by Haji Samouhoedi. It grew by leaps and bounds and at one time had a membership of two millions. In the war years of 1914-18 political consciousness developed at a rapid pace. The Dutch Government sought to counter it by devices familiar to India. In 1916 the States-General at the Hague promised East Indies much the same progress towards Self-Government as Britain had promised to India. 'Good intentions,' observes Hampden-Jackson, 'paved the way to hell in the East Indies as in India.'

Popular unrest caused repeated revision of the constitution. In the place of centralized government intermediate, provincial, administrations were set up and to each province a representative body was attached. These instalments of reform given in 1922 and 1926 only infuriated the Nationalists. In November 1926 in Batavia the people rose and captured the telegraph office. The movement spread and there was a strike wave between November 1926 and January 1927. The insurrection was suppressed with much violence. Over a thousand militants were exiled to New Guinea.

The Nationalist Movement had been strengthened by the association of the Eurasians. Under D. Dekkar they lined up with the Nationalists through their party significantly named the Indian party—later changed to Insulinde party.

There was a progressive radicalization of the nationalist movement and in 1920 the Communist Party was formed. It seceded from the *Sarekat Islam* in October 1921. Seven out of thirty sections of the *Sarekat* went over to the Communists.

- The failure of the direct-action movement in 1926-27 compelled the Javanese Nationalists to turn to constructive activities: 40 National Schools were established. As A. Vender Bosch pointed out in the *Asia* in 1936, 'Nationalist Movement in the East Indies has been strongly influenced by the movement in India. It borrowed from India methods and slogans: such as non-co-operation, congresses, Swadeshi.' The constructive work was especially emphasized by the radical wing of the *Sarekat*—known as *Paratoean Sarekat Islam*.

In 1936 in the Volksraad a delegate rose to move a petition to the queen 'to take steps to see that the Government of Netherland Indies was administered in accordance with the terms of Article I of the constitution.' This was a demand for Dominion Status. As Muhammad Thamrin, the moderate leader, commanded 30 votes in the Volksraad, the resolution was passed. But there was no response from the Government.

Spasmodic mutterings of revolt continued: from murderous attacks by plantation coolies on Europeans to the capture of a gun-boat by its crew. The militants were getting organized under younger leaders like Drs. Tjipto Hatta, Soekarno and Soemantri. The death of old leaders like Soetamo (in 1938) and Thamrin (in 1941) left the field clear to the younger and more virile spokesmen.

There was a gradual drawing together of the freedom movements in the different islands and in their unity they emancipated themselves from the religious association. Muslim Java and Hindu Bali meet on equal terms in Perhimpunan Indonesia which insists on religious neutrality and advocates secular, federal nationalism.

After the collapse of the Royal Government in Holland and later in the Indies, a proclamation was issued by the Government in exile assuring Indonesia of independence after the war. The Indonesians were to draw up their constitution: something like our Cripps Offer.

The National Movement in Indonesia has grown in the footsteps of India. To-day, however, it has forged ahead of us. Indonesia no longer seeks independence but has *declared* it. There is no more demand to quit, but an assertion of it.

INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF A FULL EMPLOYMENT POLICY

By N. S. PARDASANI

ONE of the healthy signs of modern times is the growing recognition by the State of its responsibility to secure a high and stable level of employment. Though the horrors of mass unemployment witnessed during the Great Depression of the thirties have somewhat receded in public memory, the immediate

problems of demobilization and the fear of another, perhaps severer, depression have served to keep employment policy in the forefront of economic discussion. The measures by which a state of comparatively full employment was secured first in the U. S. S. R. and Nazi Germany and then in other countries during war-time have also stimulated enquiry among economists with a view to discover the methods by which full employment could be attained without preparing for, or resorting to, war and without making for a totalitarian dictatorship. A broad line of agreement on the course to be followed has already emerged and the formulation of an appropriate policy is now within the realm of practical politics. The exact scope and content of such a policy is, no doubt, to be settled by each country in the light of its political and social objectives. Besides, since full employment can be secured at different levels of national income, with varying regard to such ends as international peace, individual liberty and the like, the alternative methods by which the policy could be implemented on a national scale would have to be worked out in each particular case. The implications of such a policy cannot but be far-reaching on the whole structure of economic organization of the community.

The adoption by a country of a full employment policy will necessarily raise a number of problems, of which a significant group relates to international relations. It is obvious that in the face of fluctuations in foreign trade, capital movements, exchanges etc., the pursuit of a consistent national policy will be extremely difficult. Hence the need for analysing the main difficulties of an international character which a country is likely to experience in implementing such a policy, and of studying the comparative merits of the different methods by which such difficulties can be overcome. Such analysis will throw light on the necessity for the acceptance of certain general principles of international conduct and the consequent obligation to so formulate national policies as not to hamper the achievement by other countries of a similar goal. Besides, there is the need for securing the maximum degree of international co-operation consistent with the successful regulation of internal economy, so as to secure full employment at the highest possible level of income.

This raises the question: What aspects of a country's full employment policy are likely to raise any international problems at all, and what is the nature of those problems? The modern analysis of the problem of unemployment has shown that a fairly clear line can be drawn between measures which will be primarily of an internal character and those which will have a wider import. Among the former will be included measures like organizing the labour market, establishing employment exchanges, promoting mobility of labour, providing re-training facilities, regulating the introduction of machinery and new methods and controlling the location of industry. But nearly all of these are in the nature of adjustments of supply of labour to changes in demand for it. They are calculated to reduce the volume and duration of frictional and structural unemployment experienced in normal times by highly industrialized countries of the West. They leave almost wholly untouched the major problem of correcting the phenomenon of deficiency of total demand, which is a chronic feature of capitalistic economy in peace-time and which gets aggravated in

times of general economic depression. And, it is this aspect of full employment, i.e., that of securing and maintaining adequate total demand, and creating, without undue loss of time, a proportionate volume of employment *within* a country as a result of such demand—that will raise issues of international significance.

It is now agreed that the most prominent features of a national full-employment policy in respect of maintaining demand will be :

(1) the promotion of private investment by methods like lowering of the rate of interest, direct subsidies, guaranteed State purchases, and a modified income-tax so as to exempt profits re-invested in business;

(2) the stimulation of the propensity to consume by methods like direct reduction of inequalities of income, redistributive taxation and provision of cheap or free goods with the help of State subsidies; and

(3) the provision by the State of services like education, medical help, roads, settled by reference to consideration of social priority.

The scale on which the State may have to supplement private investment by State enterprise is expected to be so large, particularly in backward countries like India where the field of State enterprise is almost unlimited, and the direction in which State encouragement to private activity will be called for are so many, that a radical change in the financial, monetary and commercial policy of the State will become necessary. In particular, it will be absolutely necessary that the investment policy of the State should be backed by an appropriate policy regarding the quantity of money, prices, interest, rates, profits and wages so as to make for a co-ordinated drive towards the goal of full employment. But a moment's reflection will show that none of these can be effectively secured over a reasonably long period in the absence of an international agreement involving a voluntary surrender by each country of its right to take unilateral action. Such *national* measures as can be undertaken to protect the economy of a country against disturbances originating abroad involve a heavy sacrifice of national income and are more often than not likely to inflict considerable hardship on other countries. The fact that such measures can lead to no permanent advantage to the country itself and may, in fact, cause considerable harm in the long run when other countries begin to adopt the same or similar policies, has not, in the past, sufficed to deter governments from undertaking such narrow nationalist measures, the cumulative effect of which can only be disastrous for all.

But, this raises the problem of indicating the general principles of economic co-operation which ought to be accepted by all countries and not departed from except under certain conditions and to the extent allowed by rules devised and interpreted by impartial and expert bodies.

These principles can, however, be settled only in the light of certain basic facts of international economy of which the most important are two. In the *first* place, there are significant differences in the size, population, natural resources, capital equipment and social objectives and organization of different countries. Hence, the method and content of a full employment policy cannot be the same for all countries and, therefore, the international aspects of their commercial and monetary policy appropriate for the purpose will also differ.

Any international agreement which is likely to tie the hands of different countries with the same degree of rigidity in all directions will either be not conducive to the attainment or maintenance of full employment or will involve such distortion of the national price-cost structure of certain countries that the price paid for the maintenance of full employment, in terms of sectional maladjustments, may be excessive. Nor will international agreements which are devised with a meticulous regard to benefit all countries *equally* and *directly* really achieve much, for they may only serve to raise the existing inequalities between nations to the status of formidable obstacles in the way of co-operation. *Secondly*, the dynamic aspect of economic relations should not be lost sight of. Since technical progress proceeds at different rates in different countries and in different spheres of economy in the same country, there is an inevitable and almost constant reshuffling of the comparative-cost ratios of internationally traded goods and services. Any attempt, therefore, national or international, at preventing such changes from producing their effect on the composition and direction of international trade will amount to blocking the way for economic progress. Therefore, measures devised for the maintenance of the *status quo* in the channels of international trade—however attractive from the point of view of maintaining *stability*, so essential for a policy of full employment—cannot but lead to stagnation and impoverishment of the world as a whole. Only such protective devices as are calculated to secure a reasonable time for making adjustments to these changes can be approved as necessary features of a full-employment policy. The problem is, therefore, one of securing stability without sacrificing progress and its solution will, in practice, offer alternatives admitting of various combinations of the two.

COMMERCIAL POLICY

In the light of the foregoing remarks it is now possible to indicate the specific objectives on which international agreement should be secured and the methods by which the objectives could be achieved. In the realm of commercial policy, neither free trade nor universal and indiscriminate protection will be conducive to the maintenance of full employment. This does not mean that each nation should be absolutely free to decide for itself what policy is appropriate to her needs with full liberty to alter the same as circumstances change. The varying needs of different countries in this respect should not preclude the possibility of an international body settling certain general principles on which particular trade policies may be allowed under prescribed conditions. It will, of course, imply the recognition by the industrially advanced countries of the necessity of Protectionist devices as instruments for securing a rapid economic development of the backward countries, though the specific conditions under which a policy of protection is allowed, the degree of protection, the forms which it may assume under different conditions and the time for which it may be retained may well be regulated by an international authority. By their very nature, protective devices are, and should be internationally recognized as, of transitional significance, involving a real cost to the country itself as also to the world as a whole. Hence the need for *international* regulation of such devices.

The practical difficulty of securing a body which will be disinterested enough to administer even-handed justice to all countries cannot be ignored but there is no heroic way of solving such a problem. The only way available is the pedestrian path of trial and error. A beginning, however, unsatisfactory, must be made in the economic as in the political field to emerge from a chaotic situation where national policy tends to over-reach itself by creating complications which, by their very nature, are bound to react unfavourably on the country's economy. But in setting up international bodies, it will be unfortunate if the countries which happen to be in a position of vantage abuse their power to such an extent that others prefer to forgo the advantages of international trade by aiming at self-sufficiency or to do without any international regulation at all rather than court new risks of domination by the great powers. But given a body which will not provoke such resentment, there is reason to believe that the very acceptance of the above principles of commercial policy will reduce the necessity of several nationalist restrictive practices—in so far as they are due to a real or alleged provocation of an aggressive policy of others. Besides, this should render superfluous the need for bilateral and other regional, including Imperial, pacts which, by their sentimental and otherwise complicated nature, render the task of formulating a sane global policy extremely tedious. Such arrangements are not likely to lose their appeal to those powers who by virtue of their superior political status can expect to secure advantages at the direct or indirect expense of the interests of the countries politically dependent on them. They are also likely to be defended by 'realists' on grounds of sheer expediency, as being the most liberal *in the circumstances*. But the fewer and simpler the propositions we accept as the basis of international relations, the easier in the long run is the practical task of achieving our goal. At any rate, by discounting such narrow pacts and, if possible, outlawing them, we shall be doing away with one of the important reasons for Imperialist domination.

MONETARY POLICY

This applies with almost equal force to the field of monetary policy. Here, the full employment policy of a country is likely to be jeopardized by factors such as unilateral changes in exchange ratios, specific controls, partial or global, over foreign payments on income or capital account, or a persistent lack of balance of payments, on the part of other countries. Any such policy on the part of a neighbouring country or countries will render the task of a country seeking to establish full employment extremely difficult, for not only will that country have to prepare for large and sudden changes in overseas demand in addition to the normal changes due to economic progress, but it is sure to be compelled to modify from time to time its policies regarding prices, wages, inter-rates, etc., so as to avoid a violent distortion of the economic relations of different sections of the population. Hence the need for international regulation of exchanges, capital movements and balances of payment. The principles of such international control,* which are now generally accepted

*These are now embodied in the proposed International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

may be stated as follows:—

An International authority like the I. M. F. should place at the disposal of every country which happens to have an unfavourable balance of payment, and therefore a weak exchange, sufficient resources of an internationally acceptable commodity like gold or sufficient resources of international credit by previous mutual arrangements among nations, so as to maintain its international purchasing power and its exchange rate. The exact amount of such international accommodation which may be put at the disposal of any country and the period for which any such consistent deficiency should be supported, has been attempted in the quota system devised by the I. M. F. But these measures can, by their very nature, help only if the lack of adjustment in the balance of payment is due essentially to temporary or short-term causes. They provide, in those circumstances, a necessary cushion for absorbing disturbances and thus preventing them from producing any untoward consequences for others. But if the deficiency in the balance of payments is persistent, it calls for a revision in the exchange ratio. The circumstances in which such changes should be allowed and the extent to which movements in a particular direction can be carried (a) with the consultation of the I. M. F., and (b) without such consultation, are matters subject to the regulations prescribed beforehand.

The above measures would tend only to secure an orderly regulation of exchanges, with a view to securing a high degree of stability in international relations. There is no doubt that such stability will, in itself, be a great boom to the world. It will not only reduce the scope of commercial warfare as a weapon to fight currency depreciation, but will, if successful, remove that grave uncertainty in the estimates of overseas demand for local goods which may otherwise render all calculations for the purpose of a full-employment policy impossible. But, the utility of the above measures is essentially limited. They can only remove an important obstacle in the way of the enforcement of a full-employment policy, without creating any positive forces which will actually aid the achievement of the goal. It is, however, possible for an international authority to *create* additional total demand in the world thereby increasing all round the scope for employment. This can be done by transferring the liquid resources available in the industrially mature countries to the backward countries where the opportunities for the gainful employment of such resources are much greater. If the magnitude and direction of international loans are properly regulated so as to contribute to the economic development of backward countries, aspiral of rising total international demand and employment may be set in motion, thereby creating the most important single factor which can by-pass the phenomenon of general economic depression. This task is now set for the proposed World Bank, and is expected to raise issues of a wider political significance than those set for the I. M. F. The main difficulty that is anticipated in this regard is the reluctance of the advanced countries of the West to realize the necessity of a liberal international loan policy which may appear to them to retard their own immediate national reconstruction, or, at any rate, confer disproportionately large benefits on the borrowing countries. They are also likely to insist on their loans being backed

by 'adequate' security and will not be easily persuaded that such a policy, once adopted, may not be easy to reverse. All these difficulties are real and can be effectively overcome only by a demonstration that the alternative to such a policy will be much worse for the Western creditor countries themselves. That is, there is no other way in which, given the present disparities between nations, the capitalistic framework can be made to yield an expansionist economy. It is essentially an extension to the international field of the analysis of deficiency of demand which is now accepted as a diagnosis of chronic unemployment in a capitalistic society in peace-time. The fact that such policy is of immediate and direct benefit to borrowing countries will, for some time, make the creditor countries suspicious, or at any rate, reluctant to participate in it. But the soundness of this policy, from the point of view of the permanent requirements of the world as a whole, is no longer open to dispute. That such measures will ultimately be in the interests of the rich countries too is a legitimate reason for expecting that they will forgo their narrow ideas of self-reliance and generously assist in the building up of an international economy.

The case for international economic co-operation is thus very strong; for it is not only based on an appeal to recognize a wider loyalty, to the world as a whole, but on a fuller appreciation of the need of a narrower loyalty, to the nation. This does not mean that everything that is conducive to the permanent interests of a particular nation will *ipso facto* promote the good of other countries also; but it does mean that we have come to a stage in economic history when a further development of national economies is dependent upon a wider outlook which takes in the implications of a national policy on other national economies together with their probable reactions. Absolute sovereignty in the economic as in the political field is dead and ought to be buried. It is but natural that specific measures of international economic co-operation will not benefit all countries equally and at once. In view, also, of the existing disparities of national income, industrial efficiency and financial resources, certain countries will be interested in the preservation of a system in which their superiority remains inviolate. But, any obstinate and selfish policy in this regard can only create an economic chaos comparable to the political mess through which the world has been recently passing as a result of the pursuit of power politics. The two are, in fact, aspects of the same malady and while the peaceful settlement of political problems rests on a satisfactory situation of the outstanding economic problems, any international principles propounded for solving the latter can be implemented only by an international machinery with the requisite sanctions to enforce its decisions. It is, however, true that so long as the world is cut up into territories of varying size, on the principle of nationality or race, and so long, further, as economic policy is necessarily determined by reference to the needs of such arbitrarily determined areas, every proposed act of international co-operation will have to be scrutinized by different countries from a *national* angle and approved or rejected on national grounds. This cannot but hold up the progress of international economic co-operation, leaving it, more or less to be determined as a by-product of nationalist policies. The ultimate solution no doubt lies in transcending the concept of nationality

itself so that the problems of mankind can be viewed as a whole. But national loyalties are still strong and the existing disparities in the national income of different countries are likely to offer a stumbling-block in any attempt at breaking national frontiers in economic policy. The very reference to *international* co-operation implies the retention of the nations as economic units. Here, as elsewhere, the needs of a new economic policy are being obstructed by an obsolete political structure.

TRANSITION FROM WAR TO PEACE ECONOMY

The circumstances in which a full employment policy can be pursued with success have been outlined above. The actual position for a country which launches on this policy in the near future will be so complicated as to desire very little guidance, from these broad principles, for the problems with which it will largely have to deal will be related to a situation in which other countries either do not subscribe to the above principles or fail to carry them out efficiently. But the nature of such problems will differ according to the particular directions in which, and the extent to which, other countries fail in this respect. This is, no doubt, a field for investigation in which the economist can make a more positive, if restricted, contribution to practical policy, but is excluded from the purview of this article. Secondly, the problems of transition from war to peace economy are bound to complicate the situation in many directions. These may be briefly mentioned. From one point of view, since there is a huge pent-up demand for goods for private consumption and investment, the cessation of war expenditure may not cause considerable hardship as it may reduce the problem of full employment to that of facilitating the reabsorption of demobilized soldiers and workers and the adaptation of machinery and materials used for war requirement to peace-time projects. But the scale on which the adjustments are to be secured is so large in every country that the difficulties of securing capital goods, trained personnel, organizing capacity and, in certain cases, essential raw materials, may raise bottlenecks which may well prove disastrous if international co-operation in pooling such resources is not available. Thus not failure in total demand, but the inadaptability of supply may prove to be a more formidable cause of large-scale unemployment in the immediate future. Another serious handicap may be the war-time balances which have been built up by countries like India which have allowed their economies to suffer ravages more than in proportion to the sacrifices called for their own national war efforts. In so far as such balances are due to backward countries and are payable by industrially mature countries, they may, if repaid in goods which are of short supply in these new creditor countries and which, if supplied, will remove some of the bottlenecks referred to above, actually smoothen the transition from war to peace economy. But they may also prove dangerous if used as an excuse for developing a high export trade of a competing nature, designed ultimately to secure a permanent gain by way of assured markets for their goods. Such a policy may not only create and help to maintain large patches of unemployment in the backward countries but also, thereby, defeat one of the main requirements for the pursuit of a full employment policy

in the long run. Other transitional difficulties which are largely legacies of the war but which may for the next few years constitute almost insuperable obstacles in the way of an international regulation of monetary and commercial relations may also be mentioned. The creation of disparate price-cost structures in different countries due largely to differences of the financial policy will render the task of stabilization of exchanges, and the acceptance of universal principles of commercial policy difficult. The amount of devastation caused and the consequent degree of dislocation of normal economic life in a number of countries in Europe and South-East Asia and the problems of occupation, administration and rehabilitation of the areas brought under Allied military control will blur the issues and postpone the day when a clear perception of the general principles of economic co-operation can be obtained.

THE MIDDLE WAY IN SWEDEN

By E. Da COSTA

LIVING in an age of Power Politics where the small nations are only too often the creatures of the great, it is natural that our eyes should be continuously fixed on the stage occupied by the Great Powers. We are, therefore, prone to miss both in the field of political experiment and economic organization important lessons which we might otherwise learn from the practice of smaller nations which enjoy neither spectacular wealth nor military might. But, perhaps, now that our hearts have recoiled from the horrors of war, we may be better disposed to find among the nations that have pursued the path of peace some of the healing virtues now so desperately needed by a battle-scarred and exhausted world. We may, perhaps, value more greatly the political sagacity and good fortune, for example, of Sweden and Switzerland which, though in the centre of hostilities, contrived to keep their countries free from the carnage of war. Sweden may claim to be, in a special degree, a pioneer in the arts of peace. It is not that she has not tasted the intoxicating wine of military glory. The dazzling achievements of Gustavus and his marshals, the brilliance of the decade of Christina, the early victories of Charles XII are events great in the history of Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. But Sweden's career of imperialist expansion may be said to have finally ended with the crushing defeat she sustained in 1709 at the hands of Peter the Great on the bloody field of Poltava. She was again involved in war twice in the next century but her participation first in the League of Armed Neutrality and then in the Napoleonic wars of the Third Coalition and the last two campaigns do not represent in any measure a new bid for power. Peace was the corner-stone of her policy in the late nineteenth century and peace has been maintained, even if a trifle uneasily, throughout the twentieth. With peace has come prosperity. Taken over the long period, Sweden's economic progress, judged by the rate of growth of real income per head, has been more rapid than that of any other country in the world. This distinction has not been attained by overwhelming natural resources and a vast home market as in the United States; it has not been assisted by a career

of imperialist domination and a far-flung empire as with Great Britain, for Sweden has neither Dominions nor colonies; it has not been attained by drastic State regimentation and by the ruthless suppression of all opposition by a single political party as in the U. S. S. R. It has been secured at all times unobtrusively in peace by the wise exploitation of moderate resources aided by State control, far-seeing and vigorous, but a control nonetheless democratic in action and purpose. It is this distinction which gives to the study of Sweden's progress special significance at the present time.

The history of Sweden's New Deal is hardly known in India and it may, therefore, be worth briefly narrating. As with much of the planning of the world it was called into being by the economic blizzard of the early thirties. Sweden's currency fell off gold shortly after sterling; the great industrial and financial house of Kreuger and Toll, sometimes described as the symbol of Sweden's industrial prosperity, collapsed in March 1932. By 1932 industrial production had fallen in volume to 79 per cent of the 1929 level and the proportion of Trade Union members unemployed reached 31 per cent at the end of the year. In March 1933 registered unemployment reached 186,561 the highest figure ever recorded. When the Social Democrats came to power in September 1932 things were growing steadily worse. In dealing with an unfamiliar and rapidly deteriorating situation, they acted with a courage and vision which is the more remarkable when compared with the weakness and hesitancy of larger nations at this time. The first budget introduced in January 1933 by Ernest Wigforss, the Finance Minister, contained a provision which shocked conservative financial circles. A sum of 160 million Kronor (about £ 8,000,000) was borrowed in order to finance a programme of non self-liquidating capital works. This unusual expedient was repeated for four consecutive years. By the end of 1936 the figure had risen to 364 million Kronor. The repayment of this debt was provided for with the same courage as its floatation. Death duties were immediately raised and an extraordinary income-tax levied to provide full amortization within four years. The policy of Public Works was buttressed by far-reaching measures of economic planning, subsidies to agriculture, 'crisis' loans to industry and currency control and regulations to maintain prices. In four years Sweden had the satisfaction of reaping a rich harvest of results. In July 1937 the number of registered unemployed had dropped to 9,800 confined almost entirely to the forestry district of Vasternorrland in the far north and the quarrying district of Bohuslan in the south-west. Real income per head of working population which had dropped to 650 international² units in 1932 had attained a new record of 804 by 1936, this figure being nearly twenty per cent above the 1929 peak level.³ Meanwhile the high taxation of the New Deal period and its far-reaching social reforms had greatly reduced inequality within the country, less than one per cent of the population in 1937 enjoying incomes of over 10,000 Kronor a year.

The recovery of Sweden was a direct answer to the superstition, widely prevalent in the early thirties, that because the forces of the Great Depression were world-wide, therefore no country, however spirited its policy, could rescue itself from the slough of the depression unaided. It is also the direct answer

to the extreme Socialist case that Capitalism, planned or otherwise, could never cure itself from the falling sickness which has lain so heavily on its life in the twentieth century until it exercised the devil of private profit so firmly embedded in its entrails. It is specially appropriate that the essential virility of planned Capitalism should have been first demonstrated to the world by a primarily Socialist government bent not on the extinction of private enterprise but on its rescue inspired by the belief that, suitably directed, it could be made a powerful instrument in an essentially Socialist policy, the practical ends of which were increased production, full employment, greatly reduced inequality in the distribution of incomes with minimum social standards in every field. And it is not the least significant lesson of the Swedish achievement that these ends were secured not by a bitter class-war as in Marxist prophecy, but by the wisdom of elected representatives of the people in the strict tradition of a democracy the essential features of which are as old as the constitution of 1809. The Riksdag itself had changed its complexion many times in its life of five hundred years; in tune with the times rapidly since the abolition of the four estates in 1865. But it has faithfully carried out the behests of the nation in a manner which must give to believers in democracy and in the path of reform against that of revolution, new hope in a world darkened everywhere by bitter unreason and the constant and immediate appeal to force.

The middle way in Sweden is, perhaps, best illustrated by the New Deal in agriculture. While State control is widespread and far-reaching, it is exercised not by the elimination of private ownership and initiative but by a system of regulation of prices which guarantees as nearly as possible to the farmer the internal level of prices of the boom years 1925-29. But this guarantee carries corresponding obligations. The Government has stepped in to safeguard agricultural wages and in the last analysis has reserves of power through both national and local authorities to effect public ownership if the utilization of land under private ownership does not conform with the public interest. The fact that these powers have been seldom used is an indication of the ready response of private ownership to the country's needs and not a reflection on the reluctance with which the guillotine is applied. Firm action by the government has been too much in evidence for its regulations to be lightly turned aside. Over the whole field of agriculture these regulations operate from day to day. Sugar import is monopolized; beet sugar is encouraged by a monopoly price; the import of cereals is restricted to assist home produce; every kind of farm product is covered by the fixation of prices. In the case of some commodities where differential prices exist, as with milk and butter, there is a central fund to equalize prices. That these comprehensive regulations have been welcomed by agriculturists is indicated by the fact that the Farmers party has since 1932 continuously supported the Social Democratic régime.

The silent revolution effected in State control in other fields is not less striking. The far-reaching Act of 1938 which transferred to the State the rights of the landowner to all ores found on his property was passed without ever contending serious difficulties, the opposition even from the Conservative benches being lukewarm. This has been due largely to the broad vision with which the

State has acted. It has often in working its own resources concluded voluntary agreements with private enterprises without raising the bogey of private profit as though it were in itself the villain of every piece. Civil aviation in Sweden, for example, is carried on by a private company although the State is the principal shareholder. On the other hand, the electrification of the Swedish railways was carried through by public ownership and management. At every step the Swedish Government has been prepared to examine each case on its merits, excluding neither private enterprise nor State ownership or control. It has, therefore, secured, in a measure which other countries must surely envy, the full co-operation of private enterprise in the tasks of the nation. For both capitalist Sweden and the small trader have learnt to recognize the wide and generous outlook of a Government free from dogmatic prejudice which has over many years tested all things and held fast to that which is good.

The experience of Sweden has given the world ground for hope that by the path which she first demonstrated it is possible, given only the will to follow her example, to combat the recurring scourge of unemployment, the worst malady of Capitalism in times of peace. Out of the travail and suffering of the Great Depression there has come a recognition of the means by which the world could be made not only safe for democracy but secure from want. *The General Theory of Interest Employment and Money* was the fruit of the new thought which the depression first forced upon British economists. But before British economists had fully awakened themselves to these problems, Sweden under the influence of her economists particularly Professor Myrdal, Chief Economic Adviser to the Government, had both preached and practised the doctrine which has now come in every land to be accepted as the means by which full employment can be maintained in a free society.⁴ It is possible that future generations, learning to value wisdom in peace more than glory in war, may read in the anxious years of Sweden's New Deal one of the most memorable pages in her history, years in which serving her own people, she yet thought and worked for all the world.

Accurate figures are not available in regard to the distribution of incomes in Sweden. The broad conclusion that inequality has been considerably decreased in the period of the New Deal is, however, borne out by various facts. Direct taxation rose steadily in this period. In 1932 a special or additional income-tax was imposed and, in 1933, the regular income-tax was increased and inheritance-tax rates were advanced. In 1934 a special tax was levied on property and in 1936 there was a further increase in the special or additional income-tax in consequence of the decision to increase greatly the military appropriations. The net effect was that the receipts for taxes on income and property rose from 201 million Kr. in 1932-33 to 364 million Kr. in 1938-39. If the tax rates of 1938-39 had been those that prevailed in 1929-1930, it is estimated that tax receipts would have been approximately 200 million Kr. less than they actually were.

Unfortunately it is not possible to demonstrate by figures the precise extent to which the working class and agriculturists have benefited from the reduction

in inequality. The following table will, however, indicate that real wages have risen slowly but steadily from 1932 to 1937.

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Wage income per year ..	100	102	97	92	92	96	98	100	105
Cost of living	100	97	94	92	91	91	92	93	96
Real wage per year ..	100	104	103	99	101	105	106	107	109

It is also to be remembered that it was the poor who most benefited by the heavy Government expenditure of the New Deal and of 301,400,000 kronor expended in connexion with emergency projects, 146,500,000 kronor were paid out in wages. The increase in employment as well as wages is reflected in the following figures for employment and wages in the years of recovery.

INCREASE OF EMPLOYMENT, 1933-1937

1929=100

Year			<i>Number of Employed Workers</i>	<i>Working Time Per Worker</i>	<i>Total Completed Work Hours</i>	<i>Total Wages Paid</i>
1933	..	..	85	92	78	77
1934	..	..	92	98	90	88
1935	..	..	97	99	96	96
1936	..	..	102	100	102	104
1937	..	..	109	101	110	116

Estimates have also been made of the financial effects of the measures undertaken to protect the small farmer from financial ruin and some figures are appended below:—

INCOME FROM THE SALE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS LESS THE EXPENDITURE FOR MAIZE AND OILCAKE FODDER

(In Millions of Kronor)

Year			<i>Income</i>	<i>Increase or Decrease in Terms of Preceding Year</i>	<i>Increase or Decrease in Terms of 1929</i>
1929	..	..	657.0	..	..
1930	..	..	643.4	— 3.6	— 3.6
1931	..	..	549.9	—103.5	—107.1
1932	..	..	554.6	+ 4.7	—102.4
1933	..	..	585.8	+ 31.2	— 71.2
1934	..	..	666.0	+ 80.2	+ 9.0
1935	..	..	725.1	+ 59.1	+ 68.1
1936	..	..	766.0	+ 40.9	+109.0

It is certain that much of the increase has gone to the agricultural worker whose wages were raised in 1936 at the same time as average working hours were reduced by over ten per cent over the whole field.

1. Colin Clarks, *The Conditions of Economic Progress*, p. 149. Macmillan, 1940.
2. An International Unit is the average Volume of goods and services which could be purchased by one dollar in the decade 1924-34
3. Colin Clark, *The Conditions of Economic Progress*, p. 148.
4. Sir William Beveridge, *Full Employment in a free society*.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

A SURVEY OF DEVELOPMENTS IN 1945*

By C. KONDAPI

SOUTH AFRICA

ON 17 January, 45 the Natal Indian Congress requested Smuts to abandon the three pending ordinances (the Residential Property Regulation Ordinance, the Housing Board Ordinance and the Provincial Council and Local Authorities Expropriation Ordinance) so as to restore the situation as it existed prior to 19 April 44 (when the Pretoria Agreement was concluded) and facilitate negotiations *de novo*. Subsequently all the three ordinances were ruled by Smuts' legal advisers to be *ultra vires* of the Natal Provincial Council. As, however, Smuts did not officially declare them *ultra vires*, the two Indian members of the Natal Indian Judicial Commission withdrew from it. On 14 March 45, Smuts told the Union House of Assembly that he would see that the scheme for setting aside separate residential areas would be carried through. The Government of India, too, after a flourish of much sound and fury, neither enforced economic sanctions nor recalled their High Commissioner; instead they rushed to the Union a new High Commissioner, Mr. Deshmukh, in the face of the South African Indian protest. Political circles in India naturally attributed the failure of the Government of India to implement their threat of economic sanctions to the intervention of the Secretary of State.

In order to rectify the situation created by the ruling that the ordinances were *ultra vires*, the South African Housing (Emergency Powers) Act was passed by the South African Parliament on 13 June 45. The Act authorized the Natal and other Provincial Councils to pass an ordinance establishing a Housing Board subject to approval by both houses of the South African Parliament. It contained provisions enabling the Government to take drastic powers by regulation for solving the problem of housing shortage throughout the country for all sections of the population and provided for a quicker process of expropriating land required for housing schemes on 30 days notice as was being done by the Defence Department without having to follow the procedure required under normal conditions. Compensation was limited to the

*See for the position on 31 December, 1944, *India Quarterly*, Vol. 1, pp. 71-79

latest municipal valuation plus 30 per cent or the price paid by the owner plus 6 per cent whichever was lower. All expropriations would be subject to the consent of the Minister for Health, Welfare and Demobilization. Government was also empowered to make regulations concerning the planning or replanning and the laying out of any area for a housing scheme.

Taking advantage of the Act, the Natal Provincial Council passed the Natal Housing Ordinance in September 45. On 9 November 45, the leaders of the Natal Indian Congress met Smuts and registered their protest against the inordinately expropriatory powers conferred on the government which could be used for purposes of racial discrimination against Indians. Their objection was mainly directed against the powers of the Natal Housing Board established by the ordinance to appropriate land and to prescribe, in selling or letting land, conditions restricting ownership or occupation of land to persons of a designated class and prohibiting ownership or occupation of land by persons of any other class. The Congress requested that the Natal Administrator should be advised to refuse assent to the Ordinance. On 6 December 45, however, Smuts announced that it had been promulgated and would stay. Explaining government policy, he pointed to the safeguards provided in the form of stipulation for a prior ministerial consent and for the same ministerial approval, in conformity with the regulation promulgated under the Housing (Emergency Powers) Act 1945, for prescription by the Board, of any conditions referred to above. He also gave an assurance that these safeguards would be used to ensure a reasonable and equitable exercise of the powers and protection to every section of the community.

It is feared by Indians that the provisions will enable the Natal Housing Board to sell land acquired by it subject to servitudes prohibiting future ownership and occupation by the Asiatics. Thus an Indian whose land has been expropriated and replanned will not necessarily be allowed to repurchase the land and any property upon it. If it happens that the site is in a zone demarcated for European occupation, the land will be offered to Europeans and not to Indians. It is, no doubt, stated that the provisions apply to all races. But while the wording of the provisions appears to be of general application, the conditions in which they will operate are by no means equal in view of (i) the limited nature of Indian property rights restricted as they are by the Pegging Act which forbids them from buying property in Durban, and by the Borough Ordinances which forbid them from acquiring municipally-owned land; (ii) the denial to Indians of provincial or municipal vote which alone can ensure equal treatment by provincial and local authorities; (iii) the past record of Natal authorities which justifies considerable anxiety; (iv) the fact that the ordinance is a permanent measure embodied in the law of the province while the assurance of Smuts has no legal force and (v) the absence of any need for this ordinance for Natal when other provinces find the existing law adequate.

The interim report of the Natal Indian Judicial Commission of Inquiry was tabled in the House of Assembly on 11 June 45. While making no recommendation on Indian enfranchisement, it emphasized that the only practical basis

was 'loaded franchise', i.e., franchise to Natal Indians on the common roll with Europeans, qualifications for registration of Indians being more stringent than in the case of Europeans so as to ensure a permanent European majority. Thus the Indian request for adult suffrage was rejected and that for common roll accepted after rendering it unhelpful to Indians. The Commission recommended that the Union Government should forthwith invite the Government of India to send to the Union a delegation composed substantially of Indians for discussion on matters affecting Indians therein. Smuts announced on 9 August 45 his intention to call a Conference of Indian leaders in South Africa.

On the non-official side, the control of the Natal Indian Congress has passed into the hands of the Anti-Segregation Council, the militant body pledged to all-out opposition to all forms of segregation and to any compromise on the issue with the Union Government. This Council consists of Indian trade unionists who supply leadership to workers, artisans and farm hands in Natal.

EAST AFRICA

ON 4 January 45, the Kenya Legislative Council passed a resolution, which was moved by the leader of the European elected members, requesting the Kenya Government to ask the British Government to invite Smuts to arrange a pan-African Conference immediately. This Kenya resolution followed similar requests from Southern and Northern Rhodesias. Indian members and the representative of the natives opposed the resolution. Commenting on this move, Mr. William Towlen, foreign editor of the *Daily Herald* wrote on 11 January :

'We should keep a wary eye on the project mooted in Kenya . . . put forward by the Kenya Legislative Council and inspired by the White settlers it automatically invites suspicion. We can be certain that their regional union idea is not inspired by any motives of improving the lot of African natives. It is aimed at further benefit of Europeans with permanent subjection of Africans'.

No further developments have, however, taken place in this direction.

On 25 July 45, the Kenya Legislative Council accepted in principle the Kenya Government's proposals to re-organize the administrative machinery. The proposals included the appointment of special members of the Executive Council to whom some of the departments now under the Chief Secretary would be transferred. This is an old proposal in a new costume. In 1931, the Kenya White settlers suggested to the Hilton Young Commission that the immigrant communities (by which was meant themselves) should be associated with the executive side of Government and that certain departments should, for this purpose, be placed under the control of Ministers. The Commission rejected the suggestion. Under the present scheme of the Kenya Government, however, the departments would be transferred to Executive Councillors if not to Ministers. The scheme was supported by Europeans and opposed by Indians. It is dangerous for, firstly, the white settlers whose interests conflict with those of natives and Indians will occupy posi-

tions of power and authority; secondly, the present scheme will be followed by their demand for a non-official majority in the Executive Council and the conversion of Executive Councillors into Ministers. As was observed by the Hilton Young Commission with reference to the suggestion made to it, the proposal 'appears to be dangerous as the thin end of the wedge' which might disrupt Indian and native interests. The proposal looks innocent involving a legitimate demand for administrative responsibility to non-officials. But in effect it would only mean monopolization of power by a small European minority which constitutes only one percent of the population. This is a subtle attempt to entrench their position through piecemeal proposals of alleged administrative re-organization. Already 25,000 Europeans have 11 members, about 75,000 Indians, five members only while three million Africans have no franchise to elect even a single member of their own. Hence the East African Indian National Congress rejected the proposals and demanded a Royal Commission to go comprehensively into the whole question of constitutional development 'to investigate all political demands and aspirations of all races and make recommendations for necessary changes in the Government machinery in conformity with the imperial obligations towards the people as a whole for common economic, cultural and political advancement'. They also demanded a common electoral roll and common franchise, withdrawal of immigration restrictions imposed on the pretext of war emergency and provision for meeting Indian claims in relation to the new White immigration plans.

On 29 November 45, the Kenya Government published comprehensive proposals for land utilization and land settlement in Kenya. The proposed Settlement Bill provides for a statutory Central Settlement Board to advise the Government on plans for settlement of all races on land in Kenya and for subsidiary boards to deal with Indian, Arab and European settlement. There will be a joint Indian and Arab Settlement Board under the chairmanship of one of the Indian elected members to the Legislative Council to enquire into the demand among Indians and Arabs for agricultural land and to examine certain areas which may be suitable. The existing Indian Land Settlement Board set up in August 1941 under the Chairmanship of the Commissioner of Lands will be abolished. The duties of the new Board include: (i) Reporting on the activities and economic position of Indian farmers in those areas now occupied by Indian agriculturists; (ii) ascertaining the extent of demand existing among local Indians and Arabs for opportunities to take up an agricultural career and particularly the demand among locally born Indian and Arab youths; (iii) suggesting to Government what land, in the areas which are open to occupation by persons of all races, it deems suitable for Indian and Arab settlement in order that the Government may appoint technical officers to examine and report on this land; (iv) devising schemes for beneficial occupation of land by Indians and Arabs after receiving reports from the technical officers and making available suitable areas for Indian and Arab settlement and (v) administering under the direction of the proposed Central Settlement Board such financial provisions as may be approved and arrange

the training of prospective farmers. The proposals also include provisions regarding Indian urban settlement.

On 11 December 45, the British Colonial Office issued a 'non-parliamentary daper' embodying proposals, as a basis for discussion, for the creation of an East African High Commission consisting of the three Governors of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika and a Central Legislative Assembly for the common services of the three territories. These proposals are said to provide a constitutional basis for operating common services between the three territories to secure more effective co-ordination of policy in economic development and research and enactment of common legislation. The common services departments will be grouped under five principal executive officers—a Chief Secretary, Financial Secretary, Director of Transport, Postmaster-General, and Commissioner of Customs with a Secretariat including a Commerce and Economics branch. The Governors of the three territories will, acting as a High Commission under the standing Chairmanship of the Governor of Kenya, be responsible for administration. The total membership of the Central Legislature will be 24 unofficial members, of whom 6 will be Indians elected by the territorial Legislative Councils, 6 elected Europeans, 6 nominees of the High Commission as trustees for African interests—they will as far as possible be Africans—two nominated representatives of Arabs and four others—race not specified—to be nominated by the High Commission and 12 official members. Unofficial members will have no power to initiate legislation, but they can introduce motions on any subject under the usual rule. There will be no political union, it is stated.

The history of this sinister scheme dates back to 1927 *when Mr. Amery, as the Secretary of State for the Colonies, appointed the Hilton Young Commission to make recommendations as to whether, either by federation or some other form of closer union, more effective co-operation between the governments in Central and East Africa might be secured, particularly in regard to transport and communications, customs tariffs and administration, scientific research and defence.

The conclusion of this Commission was: 'while it is wise to avoid forcing premature unification in any particular sphere of Government, it is important to create machinery which will provide the possibility for advancing towards unification *step by step*, taking each step *in due course when the proper time for it has arrived*'. (Italics ours)

The new proposals and the recommendations of the Commission betray ominous resemblance. The Commission affirmed that 'any union with Kenya would be most unpopular' and the Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Donal Cameron, opposed the scheme on the ground that the morbid racialism of Kenya would infect Uganda and Tanganyika and seriously jeopardize the existing condition of Asiatics and Africans therein. When it was pointed out to him that the Hilton Young scheme provided not for a political union but for the co-ordination and control of the economic services, he replied: 'That in my opinion is a cloak which has covered a multitude of sins'.

* See for details, *India quarterly*, Vol. I, pp. 256—267.

These arguments advanced in 1931 are rendered more powerful by the tragic experience of non-Whites. The new proposals contain the same wine of Mr. Amery, though the bottles are of the Labour Government. They explain that 'no political union is involved'. But this is only according to plan—the sage counsel of the Hilton Young Commission '*Step by step*'. There will be the fateful political union '*in due course when the proper time for it has arrived*'.

CEYLON

The developments in Ceylon centre round the Soulbury Commission inquiry in January-March 45. The Board of Ministers, the Ceylon National Congress and the Sinhala Mahasabha boycotted the inquiry and passed the Free Lanka Bill in March 45. The Mahasabha empowered its president to take all necessary steps reasonably to obtain the support of the minorities in order to secure the greatest possible unity on the constitutional question. Curiously it also, in regard to Indians, harked back to the stand of the Sinhalese delegation to Delhi in 1940 and even asked the State Council to proceed with the pending Bills for restriction of immigration and registration of non-Ceylonese.

On 9 March 45 the Ceylon Indian Congress submitted a memorandum to the Commission embodying a five-fold demand on the franchise, citizenship, representation, re-entry and immigration questions. They demanded that adult franchise should be accorded to them absolutely on a par with the rest of the people of Ceylon. Every British adult subject resident in an electoral district for six months should have a vote. Secondly, equal citizenship rights should be given for those who had resided in Ceylon for five years and would give a declaration of intention of adopting Ceylon as their home. Thirdly, as Indians constituted nearly 16 per cent of the total population, the constituencies should be so delimited as to ensure the return of 15 Indians to the legislature. Joint electorates were also favoured. Regarding the Executive, the Council of Ministers should be composite so that the distribution of Executive power might neutralize any attempts at communal domination. Fourthly all Indians should, once lawfully admitted, have the same unrestricted rights of re-entry as other Ceylonese (at present if an Indian is out of the island for a year he cannot re-enter it). Lastly, the legislature should have no power to enact unilateral legislation affecting immigration from India or adversely affecting the rights of Indian immigrants lawfully admitted.

The Report of the Commission was released for publication on 9 October 45. The decisions of the Secretary of State for the Colonies regarding the constitutional reforms based on the Soulbury Report were announced in a White Paper on 31 October 45. On 9 November 45, the Ceylon State Council accepted the constitutional decisions by 51 to 3 votes, two Indian members voting against them.

What are the new constitutional decisions on the Indian demands? Regarding franchise, universal franchise on the present basis is retained, the future

Government of Ceylon being allowed to modify it if they choose ; the Commission was of opinion that it should be within the competence of the Government of Ceylon 'to determine the conditions under which the inhabitants of Ceylon may acquire the franchise'. Thus Indians are to continue under the existing draconian stipulations of proving the domicile of origin or of choice, and in the case of the undomiciled, the two alternative qualifications either a literacy and a property qualification as under the 1924-31 Constitution, or Certificate of Permanent Settlement to be granted on production of evidence of five years residence and a declaration either of permanent settlement in the island, or of intention to settle permanently, and a renunciation of any claim to special protection afforded by the Indian Government and other statutory rights or privileges enjoyed by them. The Commission has admitted that the number of Indians registered as voters under these rigorous tests had dwindled from 2,25,000 in 1939 to 1,68,000 in 1943. What Indian public opinion demands has been made clear above—that Indians already resident in the island, if they are adult and have resided in a constituency for the stipulated period, should be given the right to vote as Ceylonese nationals are given ; it admits that Indians who emigrate to Ceylon in future may be subject to different conditions as decided upon by the Ceylonese and Indian governments for they will emigrate in full knowledge of the limitations, whereas in the case of those already resident, the present attitude amounts to a breach of promises of equality.

The question of citizenship is, like franchise, left to the future Ceylon government. The problem is now considerably simplified due to the virtual cessation of emigration of Indian unskilled labour owing to the ban imposed upon it by the Government of India on 1 August 1939. Most Indians had thus lived in Ceylon for more than 5 years and the Commission itself has admitted that 80 per cent of the Indians whose names appeared in the Preliminary Lists were either born in Ceylon or had resided in Ceylon for at least ten years. In view of their recruitment on an undertaking of equal citizenship rights and the fulfilment of five years residence test as was recommended by the Donoughmore Commission, there is no reason why Indians who fulfil this test could not have been straight away treated as Ceylon nationals. British surrender to the anti-Indian demands of the extremists among the Ceylonese does not augur well for the stabilization of Indo-Ceylonese relations on a sound and healthy basis.

With regard to the question of representation, the Commission expressed the hope that through delimitation of the constituencies, Indians could be facilitated to return, in proportion to their population, 14 Indian representatives to the proposed lower chamber of 101 members. Although on proportional basis, Indians should have obtained 9 out of the 58 seats in the present State Council, they secured only 2 seats. While the Soulbury Commission hopes that Indians will secure 14 seats, it is felt that the achievement of this hope will depend on how the Delimitation Commission will do its work and the way in which its ideas will be put into effect. It must be remembered in this connexion that the Indian request is not for any special rights or weight-

age or reservation of seats but only for proportional justice which is their due.

Regarding representation in the Executive, the Commission similarly expresses the hope that the Prime Minister will show enough statesmanship to reserve a proportion of portfolios to the minority interests. It ignores the glaring facts that in 1936 the Sinhalese formed an All-Sinhalese Board of Ministers and boycotted the present Commission itself partly on H. M. G.'s announcement to consult minority opinion. Mere expression of a hope has no reality in the present conditions in Ceylon.

The Commission endorsed the demand of the Ceylonese Ministers (embodied in their constitutional scheme submitted to H. M. G. in September 1944) that the Government of Ceylon should have the power to prohibit or restrict immigration into the island and that a Bill dealing only with that subject should not come within the category of Bills to be reserved for His Majesty's assent. Regarding re-entry, the Commission made a reservation to the effect that it should not be competent to the Ceylon Government unfairly or unreasonably to prohibit or restrict the re-entry of persons normally resident in Ceylon at the date of the coming into force of an Immigration Bill. They recommended that the Governor-General should reserve an Immigration Bill in case its provisions were of such unreasonable or unfair character. This provision suffers too much from the blight of generality to be of effective help, for the decision regarding reasonableness and fairness rests with the Ceylon Ministers and the Governor-General. Equally Indians have to look up for protection to the Governor-General who cannot be expected to risk a constitutional deadlock with his Ministers on the question of Indian re-entry.

The commission proposed two remedies of a general character, firstly that 'the Parliament of Ceylon shall not pass any law rendering persons of any community or religion liable to disabilities or restrictions to which persons of other communities or religions are not made liable or confer upon persons of any community or religion any privileges or advantages which are not conferred on persons of other communities or religions'.

and that

'any Bill, any of the provisions of which have evoked serious opposition by any racial or religious community and which, in the opinion of the Governor-General, is likely to involve oppression or serious injustice to any such community, must be reserved by the Governor-General for His Majesty's assent.'

Suffice it to say here that what Indians want is not equality in disability; any safe-guards to be of real help to Indians should be embodied in the Constitution itself without compelling them to seek the help of the Governor-General against the popular Ministers much to the justifiable annoyance of the latter.

BURMA

With the liberation of Burma from the Japanese yoke, the question of the return of Indians who left Burma in Oct.—Dec. 1941—it will be remembered that some 4 lakhs of Indians left Burma for India—has assumed great importance. According to present arrangements, this return will be regulated by the

Immigration Department of the Government of Burma according to general priorities agreed with the Indian Government. All Indian refugees from Burma who were the inhabitants of Burma on or before Japanese occupation in December 1941 will be allowed to return to Burma without any restrictions as to the length of their domicile or anything else. This repatriation will begin from March 46 and may take two years. Those Indian refugees who do not get back within that time will lose all claims as refugees to be sent back to Burma. Workers in ports and railways and sanitary staff come first in priority and petty traders and businessmen are last in the list. While on paper, these arrangements are unexceptionable, it is necessary that Indians should be allowed to return simultaneously with other nationals particularly the British nationals so that Indians might not be placed at a disadvantage in starting their lives.

On 2 December 45, Mr. U. Tin Tut, Reconstruction Adviser to the Burma Government, announced that a new draft immigration agreement had been drawn up following prolonged discussions at Delhi since 1943. This draft commits neither the Indian nor the Burmese Government to any of its terms. The draft is now under consideration of the sub-committee appointed by the Governor's Executive Council in Burma. It retains the principal provision of the 1941 Agreement laying down that no fresh Indian immigration into Burma can take place except under a system of quotas which will be fixed by the Burma Government on the advice of the Immigration Board. The high immigration fee of Rs. 500 for 'A' permits is dropped but the Burma Government is free to charge such fees as will cover the cost of the Board. The quota system applies only to future emigrants. Labour will form part of the quota allotted for future immigration and will enjoy exactly the same rights and privileges as other sections coming under the quota system. The new draft omits the marriage clause 14 of the 1941 agreement which provided for the cancellation of the domicile of an Indian immigrant who married a Burmese woman without official sanction and without due provision for her maintenance.

MALAYA

In Malaya, the Indian problem relates to the arrest and detention of Indians on the alleged ground of 'collaboration' with the Japanese and the economic distress over-whelming particularly Indian labour. Hundreds of Indians were indiscriminately arrested by the Military Administration on information of the Field Security Unit and many more detained whose cases had been still under investigation.

The Government of India has taken up the matter. Mr. S. K. Chettur, the representative of the Government of India reached Malaya in the second week of November 45. He contacted the Indian community, interviewed some of those detained and visited rubber estates and relief centres. With the help of a lakh of rupees placed at his disposal by the Government of India, he arranged for an improvement of the diet of the large number of workers suffering from malnutrition and for supply of clothing. A woman medical officer was appointed to look to the needs of estate women and children. Non-official committees were set up at Singapore and Kuala-Lumpur to advise the Military Adminis-

tration regarding suitable priorities for the return to India of those who were anxious for it. The principles governing priority of passages were first, medical grounds, second, destitution and, third, business requirement. Arrangements were also said to have been made for the financial assistance of those Indians who were financially crippled owing to the British repudiation of Japanese currency.

Early in December, 45, Mr. Chettur returned to India and submitted his report to it. Thereupon, the Government of India deputed the Hon. Dr. H. N. Kunzru and Mr. P. Kodanda Rao to advise Mr. Chettur and the Indian community as regards the various measures to be taken to relieve their condition. The Government also decided to undertake defence and provide counsel at the expense of the Indian Government, particularly for those who were unable to arrange for their own defence, and to send, for the purpose, a panel of competent lawyers from India. They have also decided to send out four medical parties with required medical supplies.

In regard to Indian arrests on 'collaboration' grounds, it is India's strong conviction that 'collaboration' in the sense of an offence against national liberty, has neither reality nor significance. Also while in Burma no action was taken against even those Burmese who were members of the Government established by Japan and those who fought against the British, it is not clear why Britain should adopt a contrary policy in regard to Indians. However, the Indian Government can help the situation by taking a strong line in certain directions. Firstly they should give every possible facility to the non-official organizations like the Indian National Congress and the South Indian, Indian National Army Defence Committee to afford legal assistance. Secondly they should take steps to see that, like the Indian National Army leaders, these civilian counterparts would be brought to India for trial. The atmosphere in which the Military Administration is working and investigating and the way in which the Special Tribunals are constituted and working underline the necessity for their trial in India, and in ordinary civil courts.

It is stated that a Malayan Planning Unit is functioning from Ceylon for formulating proposals for military, economic and political post-war structure of Malaya and also for the period of military occupation. The report will form the basis for action by the Colonial Office. The Unit consists of the Malayan Civil Service and Police Service with a few Malays and Chinese to the exclusion of Indians. Until all these matters and the question of Indian wages are satisfactorily settled, the Government of India should not lift the ban on emigration of Indian unskilled labour to Malaya to oblige British planting interests.

Fiji

Dr. C. Y. Shephard of Trinidad, who was appointed by the Colonial Office in March 1944 to inquire into the grievances of sugarcane farmers in Fiji who are mostly Indians, submitted his report in August 45. In June 1943, in view of the rising cost of living due to war, the sugarcane farmers demanded a higher price for their cane. But the all-White Colonial Sugar Refining Company, which has been enjoying a monopoly of sugar production in Fiji, refused the

demand by invoking certain agreements entered into between it and the cane growers in 1940 (before the Pacific War) according to which the price of sugarcane could be increased only if the price of sugar was raised by the British Ministry of Food to whom the Company was bound to sell all its produce. The Kisan Sangh of the cane farmers failed in its settlement talks with the Company. The farmers went on strike and the crops remained unharvested reducing the produce from 140,430 tons in 1942 to 55,410 in 1943. The Secretary of State for the Colonies ordered an inquiry by Mr. Shephard.

The report discloses that the Company's net profits during 1939, 1940 and 1942 were far above the average and totalled £ 694,261 which should have facilitated the payment of dividends at the rate of 4 per cent per annum. Dr. Shephard expressed the opinion that the amounts allowed by the Company for depreciation were excessive and that its capital was overvalued. He made several recommendations. While advising the retention of the present method of assessing the price of sugarcane, he recommended the addition of the value of molasses to the proceeds of cane. The Company should try to complete payments for cane for each crop by the succeeding 31 March, adjusting in the following year over or under-payments for cane. He also recommended a tripartite Sugar Board, consisting of the representatives of the Government, cane farmers and the Company to advise the Governor on all matters affecting the sugar industry; similar Scientific Investigation Committee to advise the Sugar Board on a programme of investigations into peasant farming, to be conducted by the Department of Agriculture and financed by contributions from the three parties. The Company's weighing machines should be checked periodically by the Police. Leases from the Native Land Trust Board should be renewable for 12 years at intervals of 11 years. The Company also should similarly extend the period of leases to tenants.

MAURITIUS AND TRINIDAD

Indians in Mauritius suffered extensively from a violent cyclone on 15-16 January 1945. The Calcutta business community extended some amount of monetary help to relieve the distress.

In October 1945, the Governor of Mauritius had discussions with the Colonial Office on a constitutional scheme designed, it was stated, to broaden basic representation on the Executive Council and to devolve wider responsibility on it.

Indians in Trinidad celebrated the centenary of Indian settlement therein on 31 May 1945. The first batch of 200 Indian immigrants landed in Trinidad on 31 May 1845.

On 20 May 1945 the Trinidad Legislative Council passed a resolution according legal recognition to the Hindu and Muslim marriages and permitting them to register the same. While the Bill does not stipulate registration of marriages, it permits such action. This is because certain Hindu sects objected to registration. The bill does not bar continued observance of their religious customs. It emphasizes the advantages of legal recognition hitherto withheld to unregistered marriages. One of the grave handicaps of Indians in the Colony is removed by the Bill.

UNITED STATES

The Luce-Celler Bill which was introduced in the House of Representatives and a similar bill presented by Mr. Joseph Ball to the Senate in the first week of February 1945 permitted U. S. naturalization of Indian nationals under an annual quota system. But, on 20 March 45, the House Immigration Committee postponed the consideration of Luce-Celler Bill indefinitely as a result of Republican opposition. On 26 April 45, the Langer Bill was heard by the Senate Immigration Committee. It made about 4,000 Indians now resident in U. S. eligible for naturalization. Although it did not stipulate that those eligible for citizenship should have been in U. S. since 1 July 24, the fact that the Bill made no provision for future immigration made it less desirable than the Luce-Celler Bill. Subsequently the Luce-Celler Bill, with slight modifications, was again brought before the House and was passed on 10 October 45. Apart from the naturalization of some 4,000 Indians now living in U. S., the Bill contemplates an annual immigration quota of 100 Indians on the same basis as the quota of 107 allowed to the Chinese. The quota is too minute to influence the composition or economic future of U. S. and even the little trickle of new immigrants have to satisfy the personal tests prescribed by the present immigration regulations such as literacy, freedom from disease, financial solvency, etc. The Bill is yet to negotiate the bigger hurdle of the Senate which is reputed to be more reactionary. The value of the Bill is only as a token of goodwill for it rectifies the wrong done to Indians in 1924 denying American citizenship right to Indians.

INDIA AND THE WORLD

PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS : 25 SEPTEMBER, 1945: PARIS

DELEGATES from 56 countries assembled to discuss the formation, in conformity with the decision taken by the World Trade Union Conference held in London on 6 February, 1945, of a new world federation in the place of the old International Federation of Trade Unions (I. F. T. U.). India was represented at the Congress by the All-India Trade Union Congress (Mr. S. A. Dange) and the Indian Federation of Labour (Mr. A. K. Mukherjee). The Administrative Committee set up by the London Conference prepared a draft constitution of the projected federation. The British delegation headed by Sir Walter Citrine proposed 11 amendments to the draft constitution including a provision for deferring certain questions. After a full discussion between the British, French, U. S. and Soviet delegations, agreement was reached on major issues with its basis on concessions to the British viewpoint without, however, any violence to the basic principles governing the constitution and functions of the new organization.

The New Zealand delegate proposed that the constitution of the World T. U. C. be so altered as to prohibit worker-members from having to do

anything with the manufacture of munitions. Mr. Ken Hill of Jamaica urged the immediate formation of the world federation. Supporting Mr. Hill, Mr. S. A. Dange declared that the world federation would help India to achieve her independence, for independence for India was a prerequisite to freedom and improved economic conditions for Indian labour. He added: 'we expect nothing from the Labour Government in England. It is obvious they do not understand our problem or situation.' Mr. A. K. Mukherjee of I. F. L. made a slashing attack on American finance and capital and referred to the danger of ignoring industrially backward countries like India whose elimination from the Executive Committee was no accident.

A Constitutional Committee was appointed by the Conference and India was allotted a seat but the Indian delegates did not agree as to whether India should be represented by the All-India Trade Union Congress or the Indian Federation of Labour. Owing to the intransigence of the latter, the matter was left to be settled by the Constitutional Committee itself. The Committee accepted the British amendments and agreed on the constitution of a new World Federation of Trade Unions (W. F. T. U.). This new World Federation held its first meeting and adopted the constitution.

Sir Walter Citrine was elected President of the Executive Committee of the W. F. T. U. M. Louis Saillant, Secretary of the Confederation Generale du Travail, was unanimously elected Federal Secretary of the W. F. T. U. India was given a seat on the Executive Committee but again the Indian Federation of Labour picked up a bone with the All-India Trade Union Congress. Owing to this dispute in regard to nomination, the matter was left to the Federation to decide. Both the Indian delegations made a proposal to the W. F. T. U. to call a Conference of Asiatic trade unions in India.

SUBJECT PEOPLES CONFERENCE : 10 OCTOBER, 1945: LONDON

The Conference was attended by 40 delegates—Indian, African, Burmese, Ceylonese and West Indian. Dr. N. Gangulee presided. Mr. Wallace Johnson (West African delegate to the World Trade Union Congress at Paris) congratulated the Australian and New Zealand dockers who joined the strike as a protest against the French and Dutch imperialist ways in Indo-China and Netherlands East Indies. Mr. Peter Abraham (West Indian founder of the Pan-African Federation) advocated the establishment of a 'colonial federation' for the liberation of all colonial peoples. Dr. Gangulee declared:

'We strongly protest not only against Dutch and French imperialisms but also against British imperialism in India, Burma, and Malaya. The British Labour Government is already condemned in our eyes for maintaining the *status quo*'.

The Conference unanimously adopted a resolution demanding complete independence for Indo-China, Netherlands, East Indies as well as for India, Burma and Ceylon.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE: 15 OCTOBER—5 NOVEMBER,
1945: PARIS

This, the 27th session of the conference, was attended by delegates from 46 countries, Russia being a notable exception. The Indian delegation consisted of the representatives of (i) the Government of India (Sir S.E. Runganadhan and Mr. H. C. Prior). (ii) employers (Mr. L.N. Birla) and (iii) workers (Mr. N.M. Joshi) and their advisers. The main questions before the Conference related to the future constitution of the I.L.O. and its relation to the United Nations Organization; full employment for all workers the world over during the transitional period; the welfare of children and young persons in industry and non-industrial occupations; the minimum standards of social policy in dependent territories and the application of Conventions.

Sir S.E. Runganadhan was elected Chairman of the Constitutional Committee of the Conference. The Committee passed a resolution pledging full co-operation of the I. L.O. with the United Nations organization (U.N.O.) and authorizing the Governing Body of the I.L.O., subject to the approval of the Conference, to enter into agreements with the U.N.O. authorities accordingly. The question of affiliation of the I.L.O. to the U.N.O. was referred to a small 'working party' who would prepare and present a report at the I.L.O. Conference next year.

During the discussion of the Director's Report, Mr. L.N. Birla (Employers' Delegate) drew attention to the terrific strain on the enfeebled economy of the Asiatic countries and pointed out that a raising of the standard of living of such countries was an essential condition for ensuring world prosperity. For raising this standard of living, countries like India, needed urgent and rapid industrialization through imports of capital goods. He stressed that the question of India's industrialization and import of capital goods was intimately connected with the early release of her sterling credits and with the dissolution of the Empire dollar pool. Her full share of dollars should be allocated to her. He further considered that the emergence of a National Government was essential for the regeneration of the economic life of India. He next suggested that greater attention should be given to the problems of the Asiatic countries.

The Conference adopted a comprehensive recommendation on minimum standards of social policy in dependent countries and made it clear that the standards suggested should only be deemed as minimum standards which do not detract from any obligation as may exist on any member of the organization to apply higher standards. It was also urged by one of the Advisers to the Indian workers' delegate that the constitution of the I.L.O. should be so amended as to enable dependent peoples within independent countries to be directly represented at the International Labour Conference when problems relating to them were being discussed. Criticizing the lack of progress of the I.L.O. in improving labour conditions in India even after 26 years, Mr. N.M. Joshi proposed the formulation of a five-year plan by the I.L.O. to improve the living and working conditions of backward countries. He

pointed out the necessity to secure speedier ratification and implementation of I.L.O. Conventions and devise suitable steps and procedure by which countries which did not ratify the decisions might yet be able to make planned progress within a definite time limit. Mr. H.C. Prior stressed the importance of framing Conventions so as to allow ratification by steps and he outlined a procedure which would permit the Conference to gauge how large a step forward should be aimed at in future Conventions.

The Conference passed another resolution appealing to the members to study the land systems so as to formulate a land policy suitable to the conditions which prevailed in each territory. This resolution is of interest to India in view of the large numbers of Indian workers in East Africa, Malaya, Fiji, Mauritius, West Indies, etc. The Conference adopted a 'Children's Charter' on the welfare of children and young workers. The Indian workers' delegation pointed out that the Government of India had failed to ratify some of the I.L.O. Conventions on the subject and suggested the immediate raising of the minimum age of employment of children in India. They supported the proposal to fix the age of children allowed to work in factories at 14 and to its being gradually raised to 16. The I.L.O. Office suggested a resolution that the first priority for capital goods should be for the devastated countries. This means that even enemy countries like Germany and Italy would have had preference over India. As a result of an amendment moved by India, it became possible that, while devastated countries get their requirements, the claims of less advanced countries like India would not be totally overlooked.

On the question of full employment, with reference to the Report of the Employment Committee adopted on 3 November, '45, the Indian representative stressed that it dealt with short-term policies while countries like India required long-term policies.

In regard to Indian representation at these Conferences, Mr. H. C. Prior supported Mr. Joshi's proposal that the Asiatic countries should always have two workers' representatives. Mr. Joshi also suggested that two seats out of the eight seats on the Governing Body should be reserved for the representatives of labour of the Asiatic countries so that both India and China would be easily represented. Mr. Prior supported Mr. Joshi's proposal, which was accepted, asking the Conference to arrange an Asiatic Regional Conference. He also invited the I.L.O. on behalf of the Government of India to hold the first Conference in India. The Conference elected the members of the Governing Body for the coming year and India was accorded a regular seat on the employers' side. Mr. L.N. Birla was elected as one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Employers' Group this year.

A new and important development from the point of view of India is an undertaking given at the Conference by the delegate of the Government of India to place for discussion before the Indian Labour Conference all the Recommendations and Conventions adopted by the International Labour Conference. This means that, in future, the Indian Labour Conference will have an opportunity of discussing any Convention or Recommendations that may

be suggested by the I.L.O. before the Government of India reaches a decision on them.

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON FOOD AND AGRICULTURE:

OCTOBER 16—NOVEMBER 1, 1945: QUEBEC

The objective of the Conference was to carry on the work begun at Hot Springs and thus plan better living and nutritional standards for all countries and devise the best methods of distributing world food supplies for the greatest benefit of all peoples.

The Government of India appointed Sir G. S. Bajpai to represent them, with Sir T. Vijayaraghavachariar, Mr. M. S. Randhawa, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Mr. B. R. Sethi, Khan Bahadur Sardar Habibullah Khan and Mr. Rajwade as advisers.

The Indian delegation prepared a memorandum for full investigation of food and agricultural problems of India with particular reference to the extension of cultivation of food crops and the extent of assistance and co-operation India expected from the Food and Agriculture Organization (F.A.O.) They made a statement stressing that, while India accepted her main responsibility for solving her problems of poverty and hunger, she did attach considerable importance to (i) that F.A.O. should help in the procurement of facilities for specialized training in agriculture of students and research workers from India and of machinery that India might need for her agricultural planning; (ii) that F.A.O. should endeavour to maintain close liaison with countries like India which have specialized in agricultural problems and (iii) that F.A.O. should help in the formulation of plans which would secure for the cultivator a fair and stable price for his produce.

India was represented in the Steering Committee of the Conference and supplied a Chairman for the Committee of the Conference which dealt with diplomatic and constitutional questions. Dr. Rao acted as Rapporteur of the Statistical Committee. Sir G. S. Bajpai was elected a member of the fifteen-nation Executive Committee set up to guide Sir John Boyd Orr, the Scottish nutrition expert who was elected Director-General of the F.A.O.

The Conference took many important decisions including those to collect statistical information from its member bodies and maintain an efficient statistical service. It would also have a panel of experts on agriculture whose services would be made available to the member bodies. The F.A.O. would have a number of regional stations and India was likely to have one of them.

It is expected that a permanent World Food and Agriculture Organization will be established. This Organization would have no legislative powers but would make recommendations to national governments for the solution of nutritional and similar problems on an international basis.

Mr. Lester B. Pearson, the Canadian Ambassador in Washington, was elected Chairman of the F.A.O. In the election to the Executive Committee, India was elected to a two-year term. 34 countries including India and China signed the Constitution of the Organization while Russia (and

Yugoslavia) abstained on the ground that she had not given full consideration to the F.A.O. plans to rid the world of want before finally affixing her signature.

INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF WOMEN FOR SUFFRAGE AND EQUAL
CITIZENSHIP: 3RD WEEK OF OCTOBER: GENEVA

A Board Meeting of the Alliance was held at Geneva in the third week of October and it was attended by delegates from Britain, France, Australia, Sweden, Switzerland, Egypt and Iceland. Srimati Kamaladevi, President of the All-India Women's Conference (A.I.W.C.), authorized Mrs. Joykishore Handoo of the Women's Committee of the India League, London, to represent the A.I.W.C. at that meeting with a mandate, sent to her from India, to put forward a resolution urging the abolition of imperialism. Miss Venu Chitale, formerly of the Indian Section of the B.B.C., accompanied Mrs. Handoo as Adviser. Introducing the resolution, Mrs. Handoo declared that if India were free she would not tolerate the use of her troops for crushing colonial nationalist movements and pointed out that real Indian public opinion was not represented in international conferences. Mrs. Bonpas, the British delegate and Secretary of the organization, objected to it on the ground that the issue raised was of a highly 'political' character and should not be taken up by a feminist organization like the Alliance. Madame Malaterre, the French delegate and Chairman of the Alliance, agreed with Mrs. Bonpas and it was decided to remit the whole matter to the Annual Conference to be held in September '46. The resolution was thus neither discussed nor put to vote. Mrs. Handoo addressed meetings in Geneva, Basle and Berne on India and found people evincing keen interest in Indian affairs.

FAR EASTERN ALLIED ADVISORY COMMISSION: OCTOBER 30 TO
NOVEMBER 29, 1945: WASHINGTON

Representatives from Britain, U.S., China, France, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, India, Netherlands and Philippines attended the sittings. India was represented by Sir G.S. Bajpai, with Mr. R.R. Saxena as Economic Adviser. The objective of the meeting was to formulate policies, for ensuring fulfilment by Japan of her obligations under the Instrument of Surrender and to set up the machinery required to ensure strict compliance by Japan. The Commission was not to make any recommendations with regard to the conduct of military operations nor with regard to territorial adjustments.

On 7 November, '45, the Commission heard the Head of the Civil Affairs Division of the U.S. War Department who presented a graphic picture of the situation in Japan today and a summary of the orders so far issued by Mac-Arthur. Sir Bajpai was understood to have presented officially Indian demands to the Commission for war reparations from Japan—demands including important parts of Japanese textile industry, heavy industry, communications, fishing and merchants fleet and some important commodities. India received only vague assurances that her requirements would be borne in mind. Sir Bajpai was also reported to have made a proposal regarding the treatment of

war criminals, especially those who committed atrocities against the Indian prisoners of war.

On 30 November, '45, Dr. Evatt, Chairman of the Policy Committee of the the Commission, announced that the Commission had substantially completed the task of determining the Allied policy towards Japan and made certain recommendations to MacArthur. The Commission announced its plan to leave for Japan about 26 December, '45 to familiarize itself with the conditions on the spot.

WORLD YOUTH CONFERENCE: OCTOBER 31 TO NOVEMBER 9,
1945: LONDON

The strength of the delegations was fixed on the basis of size, importance and influence of the youth movements in the different countries. India was invited to send 15 delegates and invitations were extended to the All-India Students Congress, All-India Students Federation, All-India Muslim Students Federation, Hindustan Scout Association as well as some other organizations. The All-India Students Congress decided against participation while the All-India Students Federation was refused passport facilities by the Bombay Government. The latter was, however, represented at the Conference by Mr. A.M.Sader, Miss Vidya Kanuga and Miss Kitty Boomla, members of the Federation of the Indian Student Societies in Great Britain who were already there. About 400 delegates attended from the youth groups of 64 countries. The general aims of the Conference were expressed in a pledge adopted at the opening session: 'to build unity of youth throughout the world—all races, colours, nationalities and beliefs, to eliminate all traces of Fascism from the earth, to build deep and sincere international friendship among the peoples of the world, to keep a just and lasting peace, to eliminate want, frustration and enforced idleness'.

The Conference demanded Indian independence. The Soviet delegation supported the Indian stand for independence voiced by Mr. A. H. Sader who outlined a plan for Indian freedom and pleaded for translation of the Allied recognition of the right to freedom of all the colonial and dependent areas, and for the support of the youth of independent countries to the youth of dependent territories in their struggle against the suppression of democratic and civil liberties. Mr. Maung Ohn, a Burmese delegate, urged independence for Burma. Mr. Chia-Keng Chen, the Chinese Communist delegate, demanded the end of imperialism and intervention in nationalist movements of Indo-China and the Netherlands East Indies. Resolutions were passed pleading for full employment, social security, introduction of free, democratic and compulsory education and the lowering of the age qualification for elections to 18 in order to enable the youth of the world to play its full part in shaping the affairs of the world.

On 7 November, '45 the Conference approved the establishment and constitution of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. This World Youth Organization is to be governed by a Council which will meet at least once every year and an Executive Committee elected by the Council which will

meet at least once every three months. The chief aim of the new organization is to work for the closer international understanding of youth. India was allotted 3 seats on the Council while Britain, China and Russia was each given 6 seats, and the U.S.A., 8 seats. India was also given one seat on the Executive Committee. The Indian delegation played the important rôle of uniting and rallying the colonial and semi-colonial delegations in support of their common anti-imperialist struggle.

THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATION CONFERENCE: NOVEMBER 1
TO NOVEMBER 17, 1945: LONDON

The Conference opened in London on 1 November, '45 under the Chairmanship of Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M. Leon Blum being Associate President. 250 distinguished representatives from 44 countries attended the Conference to consider the creation and draw up the constitution of an Educational and Cultural Organization of the United Nations so as to 'promote international cultural and educational co-operation' as contemplated in Article 55 of the San Francisco Charter, with particular reference to the restoration of educational facilities in countries devastated by war. Dr. John Sargent was the accredited delegate of the Government of India with Dr. Zakir Hussain, Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur, Dr. Amaranatha Jha and Dr. Saiyadain as Advisers. Raj Kumari's speech raised the tone of the Conference and she was elected one of its vice-presidents. She declared:

'India through her religions and philosophies has always stood for peace and always assimilated different racial and cultural streams. In our own warfare we have under the unique leadership of one of the most remarkable personalities the world has ever seen, chosen the path of non-violence and of self-suffering for the attainment of our goal'.

The Conference broke up into five commissions to deal with the various questions. Three points demanded its decision—the addition of the word 'Scientific' to the title of the Organization, the extent to which the requirements of the devastated countries should figure among the main purposes of the Organization and the location of the Organization. The Indian representative's proposal, supported by France, to call it 'Intellectual Organization' was rejected. Another Indian proposal to adhere to the original title was also rejected and the British proposal, supported by U.S., to add 'Scientific' to the title was accepted. The second question relating to assistance to the devastated countries engendered some heat. The Indian delegate pleaded that, as reconstruction was the immediate task of the Interim Commission, the Organization should take a longer view of its objective and devote special attention to the countries educationally backward even though not devastated by war. A drafting committee was appointed to deal with the matter and India was included in it. The new draft provided for help of the Organization to backward countries as well. The original draft contained the medieval phrase 'The High Contracting Powers' but was altered at the Indian suggestion to 'The Governments of the States parties to this constitution on behalf

of their peoples'. Similarly the words 'believing in full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth' were included as proposed by the Indian delegate. As regards the third question of location, the Conference resolved to have it in Paris while leaving the discretion of the general conference unfettered to take a different decision on the matter by a two-thirds majority. Thus the Conference agreed to establish the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (U.N.E.S.C.O.) at Paris for giving a fresh impulse to popular education and to the spread of culture, to advance the ideal of equality of educational opportunity without regard to race or sex or any distinctions, economic or social, by suggesting educational methods best suited to prepare the younger generation for the responsibilities of freedom. The Organization was also to initiate methods of international co-operation so as to give all peoples access to the printed and published materials produced by any of them. This last sentence and the clause relating to equality of educational opportunity were also incorporated at the instance of the Indian representative.

A preparatory commission, which included Dr. Sargent, was appointed to prepare the agenda for the next conference to be held next summer and convoke its first session. A special technical sub-committee was also appointed to investigate the problems concerning the educational, scientific and cultural needs of the countries devastated by the war and prepare as comprehensive a conspectus as possible of the extent and nature of those problems and needs to be placed before the next conference for its information.

India was accorded a seat on the World Education Council of 15. The appointment of the representative, of course, rests with the Government of India.

INTERNATIONAL MARITIME CONFERENCE: NOVEMBER 15 to DECEMBER 4, 1945: COPENHAGEN

At the Preparatory Technical Conference on Maritime questions convened by the I. L. O., India was represented by the delegates of the Government of India (Sir S.E.Runganadhan), of the shipowners (Mr. M.A.Master) and of the seamen (Mr. Aftab Ali) along with their advisers. The object of the Conference was to prepare an international charter for seamen laying down the minimum standards of wages and other working conditions.

Certain European shipping interests sponsored a proposal in the Salaries Committee of the Conference that coloured sailors including Asiatics, Africans and West Indians should be kept out of any minimum wage agreement that might be arrived at by the Conference. The Indian and Chinese delegates protested against this churlish attempt at discrimination and warned the Committee of the danger of 'breeding a new war'. Mr. Aftab Ali proposed that coloured sailors should receive the same wages as others after an interim period of ten years. But the Salaries Committee refused to discuss the proposal and decided that coloured men should be given 'collective equality' which the Committee defined as paying all coloured sailors on a ship the same total amount as all others received so that coloured men's wages would depend

on the proportion of coloured and other men. The Committee justified their decision on the ground that if both were to be paid the same wages, the ship-owners would not employ coloured men. Mr. Ali made another proposal that coloured sailors should receive the same food as others, but even this was rejected on the ground that this would be uneconomic owing to the lower working capacity of coloured sailors than that of the Whites. Mr. Ali retorted by saying that the lower capacity was solely due to inferior food and living conditions.

At a meeting of the Social Insurance Committee, Mr. Dinkar Desai, an adviser to Mr. Ali, urged that adequate provision should be made in drafting international regulations to the effect that special schemes of social insurance for seamen should be immediately introduced irrespective of whether such schemes were in existence or not for industrial workers in general in a particular country. Mr. Desai's proposal was accepted. It may be interesting in this connexion to note that while the representative of the British Government voted for the proposal, the representative of the Government of India did not vote for it but remained neutral. In the same Committee Mr. Desai raised the question of transfer of Seamen's Special Fund from Britain to India so as to finance the social insurance scheme for Indian seamen. He pointed out that the financial resources of this Fund were being derived from health and unemployment insurance contributions paid by British ship owners under the British legislation in respect of Indian seamen whom they had employed, but the Fund was being used for the benefit of British seamen. Mr. Desai urged the transfer to India of this Fund amounting nearly to one and a half million pounds. Replying to the plea, Mr. N. A. Guttery, on behalf of the British Government, made an important statement to the effect that they would be willing to transfer to India the future contribution to be paid by the British ship-owners in case the Indian Government introduced a scheme of social insurance for Indian seamen, but he maintained that the contributions paid in the past could not be transferred.

TELE COMMUNICATIONS CONFERENCE: NOVEMBER 19 TO
DECEMBER 5, 1945: BERMUDA

Representatives from the British Commonwealth Governments and from the Government of the U.S.A. met to consider the future of international telecommunications, particularly with regard to rates and routes. The Indian Government was represented by Sir Gurunath Bewoor, Mr. S. Bannerjee and Mr. A. Qadir.

Mr. Bewoor told the Conference that the telecommunication rates were in a 'chaotic state', generally high and frequently beyond the means of a large part of the population of the country. Referring to the retention of high rates despite expansion of traffic, he said that the public rightly felt that they were entitled to the benefits of reduced costs achieved by the advancement of science. He added that there was no justification for calling upon general tax-payers or share-holders of private operating companies to provide service at less than the cost.

The Conference accepted the principle that economic profit should be secondary to the increasing of the flow of information between nations. It decided to maintain the Empire penny-a-word press cable rate and to institute a new six and a half cents press rate between all points in the British Commonwealth and U.S., a 30 cents ceiling for all full-rate messages, a ceiling of 20 cents for coded messages, of 15 cents for deferred and 10 cents for night letters. India, Australia, S. Africa and New Zealand preferred to arrange for the reception of Press traffic through their telegraphic administrations and to exercise discretion as to private reception. The rates which were at present below the agreed ceiling rates would be continued.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE: NOVEMBER 26 TO
DECEMBER 1, 1945: PARIS

The Conference was sponsored by the Union Des Femmes Francaises and other progressive Women's Union from Russia, China, Spain and Britain. Seats were allotted to all the nations of the world, independent seats and votes being allocated to India, British Dominions and all the Colonies. Nearly 1500 delegates attended the Conference from 42 nations. The Conference was attended by two representatives from the All-India Women's Conference and All-India Students Federation, Mrs. J. K. Handoo being the leader of the Indian delegation. An Indian delegate caused a minor sensation by opposing the presidium of nine on the ground that neither India nor the Colonies were represented therein. As a result, the presidium was expanded to eleven with places for India and Africa.

The Conference reflected the hopes and fears of the world's progressive womanhood who had a personal experience of the agony and desolation wrought by the war. The delegates from France, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia spoke of the thousands of women who laid down their lives as partisans. Madame Yen Nan from China, Nina Popova from Russia and Dolores Ybarrusa of 'Republican Spain' spoke with fervour of the part of women in their countries in their long trials. The Indian delegates refuted the mistaken impression that India did not participate in the anti-Fascist war. She said that the war was two-fold, anti-Fascist and anti-imperialist, and that India had a long and consistent anti-imperialist and anti-Fascist tradition ever since the Japanese attack of Manchuria.

The Conference passed a resolution urging all nations to break off relations with General Franco and end the reign of terror in Spain. The British and American delegates jointly sponsored the second resolution urging that atomic energy belonged to the people of all nations and that the Atomic secret should be shared with Russia. The third resolution related to the establishment of democracy and peace with special reference to the colonial countries and the minorities. During preliminary discussion on this resolution, the Indian delegate insisted that the Conference should pledge itself to fight imperialism as much as Fascism and she was strongly supported by the Chinese, American and the British delegates. Two other resolutions were passed dealing with a detailed programme pledging each country to work for an

improvement in the economic and legal position of women, with problems of child welfare and education and the establishment of an International Child Welfare Fund to afford special aid to children who particularly suffered from war and those of colonial and subject countries.

India was allotted a seat on all the four commissions set up by the Conference.*

REACTIONS IN INDIA TO EVENTS ABROAD

The most important events during the quarter under review relate to the failure of the Foreign Ministers Conference at London (2 October '45), Truman's statement on the Twelve Commandments of U.S. foreign policy (27 October '45), Bevin's speech in the Commons on British foreign policy (7 November '45), the freedom struggles in Indonesia and Indo-China (which commenced in the last week of September and the first week of October 1945 respectively), the British proposals regarding Burma and Ceylon, (17 October and 9 October 1945 respectively), the civil war in China, Anglo-American proposals for Palestine (13 November '45) and the Azerbaijan revolt in Iran (19 November '45).

The failure of the Foreign Ministers Conference at London to reach an agreement in regard to the drafting of peace treaties with the defeated countries was received as a development of sinister import to the inauguration of the new world security organization: attention was drawn to the intervention of two factors calculated to shake the war-time solidarity: the cessation of hostilities which prompted the Big Powers to manoeuvre for power and the exclusive possession of the atom bomb secret by America, Britain and Canada which intensified Russian fears and suspicions. It was emphasized that while much was made of procedural difficulties—primarily the Soviet insistence, in accordance with their interpretation of the Potsdam agreement, that only the Big Three should write the Balkan Treaties, while Britain and the U.S.A. were prepared to agree to this, only if assurances were given that a full-fledged Peace Conference would follow—the main clash centred round the struggle between Britain and Russia over the position in the Mediterranean. Britain had fought the Crimean war to prevent Russian egress and has been maintaining her 'life-line' to the Empire from Gibraltar to Suez. Due to the shifting of balance of power, Russia was suitably altering her policy and demanded a foothold on the Mediterranean, 'friendly governments' in Balkan countries, a share in the administration of key ports like Tangier and Trieste and trusteeship of Eritrea and Tripolitania. As these claims would entrench Russia in the Mediterranean, Britain, who was an interested party, could not agree. Britain and America sought to confuse this struggle for power by wranglings over 'democracy' and 'trusteeship'. Indian opinion

*See also Chronicle of Important Events under INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

27 November—Preparatory Commission of the United Nations Organizations at London,

5 December—Coal Mining Conference at London.

13 December—The Inland Transport Conference at London.

20 December—The Reparations Conference at Paris.

was equally sceptical of any Russian attempt to build up a permanent 'sphere of influence' which would only sow the seeds of further wars. The way out was not to refer the dispute to the Big Three for decision at the highest level—for any accommodation between the Big Three could only be at the expense of the smaller nations—but to hand back the initiative for drafting peace treaties to a general assembly of Powers and make settlements on the basis of principles instead of power.

II

President Truman's statement on twelve commandments of U.S. foreign policy (insisting as they did on the right of all peoples—whether in Europe or Asia or Africa—to self-government, territorial changes only in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned, and the advantages of equal access to trade and raw-materials, international economic collaboration) and Bevin's speech on British foreign policy making a fetish of the dictum of continuity, provoked mixed feelings of approval, amusement and indignation. It was suspected that Truman was only trying to temper the impression produced by his message to the Congress dated 23 October, 45 which seemed an open invocation of the power of U. S. army and the beginning of an atomic era with American supremacy and the assertion of U.S. right to naval and air bases in the Pacific. India endorsed the opinion of the *New Statesman and Nation* that Bevin's speech had proved dismay to the Left and hope to the Right east of Prague or Vienna. Labour was frantically attempting to regain with U. S. help the influence Britain had lost to Russia in Eastern Europe and hence her refusal to recognize the Governments in Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary. What moral right, then, has Britain got to cavil at Russia for pursuing her interests of security? Her own interests seemed to constitute the measure of the value she attached to the cause of freedom. She cried halt to France in Levant, but she assists her in Indo-China. She hobnobbed with the idea of handing over the trusteeship of some of the Italian colonies to Italy herself after a quarter of a century record of ghastly Fascist betrayal of freedom and human decencies. But when Russia claimed their trusteeship, Bevin picturesquely described the claim as getting across the throat of the British Empire. Truman's enunciation of twelve commandments and Attlee's invocation to Christian ethics were, it was stressed, insidious propaganda stunts to mask their naked power politics.

III

Never was India so profoundly stirred by events abroad as by the Anglo-American attempt to bolster up Dutch and French imperialisms in Netherlands East Indies and French Indo-China. In Pt. Nehru's condemnation of British intervention in the suppression of the Indonesian and Annamite freedom struggles and the use of Indian troops for the purpose was heard the voice of Indian national protest. Recalling the assertion of Attlee that the British are 'under a strong moral obligation to their Dutch Allies,' and of Bevin that 'the British Government had a definite agreement that they provide for the Netherlands

East Indies Government to resume as rapidly as practicable full responsibility for the administration of the Netherlands East Indies territory,' it was asked what about the moral obligation to the principles of freedom and Atlantic Charter? Why then did the British profess that they were there only to disarm the Japanese and rescue the internees? What was the moral obligation, when after 250 years of Dutch rule, 92% of the Indonesians were still illiterate and poverty-stricken? The Dutch had forfeited all possible legal pretence to sovereignty after their failure to protect the people in their care. The charge against Dr. Soekarno of Jap-inspired collaboration was dismissed as a sedulous lie by reference to Eastern and Central Europe where Fascists involved neck-deep in collaboration with the Nazis were baptized overnight as democrats when it suited the interests of the Anglo-American reactionaries. Dr. Soekarno was a hero of many skirmishes with the Dutch since 1926 and his National Government was suppressed and dissolved by the Japanese in February 1944. The statements of General Christison, British Commander in Batavia, and of Mr. J. J. Lawson, British Secretary of War, which Mr. Attlee repudiated later, and the editorial observations of the London *Times* constituted a proof positive of Dr. Soekarno's credentials.

Dr. Soekarno's rejection of the Dutch offer of partnership with the Indonesians was acclaimed as the only honourable course, for there could be no half-way house between freedom and slavery, and partnership proposed at the point of the bayonet was another name for serfdom. Why partnership at all when Indonesians had nothing in common with the Dutch in race, culture, and interests unless it was actuated by the logic of grab? The expressions in the offer like 'Round Table Conference,' 'adequate representation of all important sections of the body politic,' 'Legislature with a substantial majority of Indonesian members and a Council of Ministers and of the Governor-General as a representative of the Crown,' 'process of evolution' etc., seemed to indicate that it had been drafted after consultation with a British diehard! The imperialists would never voluntarily loosen their grip on Indonesia whose share in world production was quinine 90%, pepper 80%, rubber 37%, and tea 18%. Freedom's battle had to be won by hard fighting.

The same feelings and convictions which prompted Indian sympathy with the Indonesian struggle operated in favour of Indo-China and the Viet Minh which established a democratic republic therein after fighting for 80 years against French imperialism and 4 years against Japanese Fascist militarism. The French constitutional declaration reminded India of her own Minto-Morley reforms and it seemed ridiculous that the French and Dutch should shout that the system of government contemplated in their declaration was similar to that enjoyed by the British Dominions under the Statute of Westminster.

The most agonizing cause for India in this ghastly tragedy was the outrageous use of her troops for British designs of holding the ring for Dutch and French imperialisms.

Why should Britain stain her hands in the Dutch affair? To India the reasons

appeared to be firstly the British anxiety to form a Western bloc on the European continent not only to rig up a favourable position for Britain *vis-a-vis* the European peoples but also to seal off Western Europe from Russian influence. Active diplomatic and military support of the British to the tottering Dutch and French imperialisms in South-East Asia and the Far East was believed to be a part of the bargain for the support in return of France and Holland to the British project of a Western Bloc. Secondly India suspected that Britain was possibly influenced in her attitude towards the Indonesian 'Republic' by the possible effect of the struggle on India as was indeed pointed out in the 'Republican' newspaper *Merdeka* (17 December, 1945). The British seemed also to fear that their empire in India would be completely isolated if the Dutch and French imperialisms were not entrenched on the eastern flank. Thus the Churchillian dictum 'we hold what we have' had to be expanded by Socialist Attlee into 'We also help others in holding what they had.'

IV

Indian suspicions regarding the intervention of the British Socialist Government in Indonesia and Indo-China seemed to receive confirmation from British policy in Burma and Ceylon. In European States, people were allowed to decide whether they would have back the rulers who had left them in the lurch to face the perils of foreign occupation. But in the first 'liberated' Asiatic country, Sir Dorman Smith should be back in the saddle to rehabilitate the leaking British prestige. His summary rejection of the list of names for his Executive Council presented by Major-General Aung San, Leader of the Anti-Fascist Peoples' Freedom League (A. F. P. E. L.) on the ground that it 'included persons who had held offices in Dr. Ba Maw's Government during the Japanese occupation of Burma' repelled India in view of his acceptance of some of the selfsame persons when they succumbed to the temptation of office and deserted the A. F. P. F. L. It was assumed that the Governor would, in constituting his Council, accept the implications of the policy initiated by Lord Louis Mountbatten through his agreement at Kandy with Major General Aung San. Under the consequent impression that its list would be accepted, the A. F. P. F. L., which consisted of most of the leading Parties in Burma, offered co-operation with the Governor, though at Kandy itself Major Aung San doubted British *bona fides*. What were the motives behind this breach of understanding? To the Indian mind, it appeared that the British capitalist and imperialist interests required 'safe' men. Moreover, at the time the Governor accepted the initial basis for negotiations which provided that out of 15 Councillors, 4 would be nominated by him, he probably expected bickerings between the A. F. P. F. L. and certain other political parties, notably the Myo Chit Party. But actually he was confronted with a surprisingly united front. Hence he was compelled to break Burmese unity by putting a premium on political apostasy to the country.

What surprised India in respect of Ceylon was not the British attitude as reflected in the Soulbury Commission Report (9 October, '45) but the pathological aspect of the Ceylonese nation which accepted them in flaming contrast to the

heroic crusade for freedom by the Indonesians and the Annamites. The promise of Dominion Status, which in the case of India remained a promise after nearly 30 years, the creation of a second chamber, worse than the one in India, with half of nominated 'dittoists' to serve as a drag on the popular chamber, the reservation of Defence, External Affairs, and franchise to the Governor-General, complete protection to the British commercial monopoly and the subjection of the trade agreements with other parts of the Commonwealth to the veto of the Governor-General would, it was pointed out, only reflect the British mercantilist opportunism and traditional game of burking the issue of Ceylonese freedom.

V

The civil war in China was viewed with profound sorrow for India had been hoping that China, in view of the position, she alone among the Asiatic nations, attained in the comity of nations, would lead Asia towards freedom and prosperity. It was regretted that Chungking backed by Britain and America should have proclaimed that the Japanese in China must surrender to the Chungking troops alone even if it necessitated their remaining free and exercising virtual rule for long in large areas in north China which the Chungking troops would take more time to reach than the Yen-an troops. In order to assist the Chungking troops, the U. S. forces had been giving them transport and weapons which were being used by the former not against the Japanese, but the Chinese Communists. Whatever the professions behind her help, U. S., it was pointed out, was helping one party against the other in the fratricidal strife. The Communists' perseverance in negotiations was stultified by a too ready resort to arms on the part of both Chungking and the American Command. Since Yen-an was fighting for its survival, the rejection of Marshal Chiang's terms for immediate restoration of communications and withdrawal of troops in Shansi was not received with surprise. The impression crystallized that Chungking wanted to exploit the sudden Japanese surrender. It deepened almost into a conviction by such significant factors as Marshal Chiang's guarded approval of MacArthur's policy in Japan, his disclaimer of interest in the freedom-movements in Indo-China and Indonesia and his abstention from pressing China's superior claims in regard to Korea and leaving the question of its future to the United Nations, and the return of foreign-owned enterprises in Shanghai to their original owners. It was strongly suspected that this was the price he paid in return for a free hand in the matter of reorganization at home. Disapproval was expressed at Chungking's attempt to force back the Communists to the interior and deprive them of their right to share in the fruits of conquest with Chungking. It appeared significant that civil strife should have reared its ugly head just at a time when the cleavages in the Allied camp were at their worst in Europe. It was felt that in view of China's exhaustion after several years of war, a civil war, such as the one raging now, could take place only with the connivance of the big powers. Were America and Britain interested in keeping China weak and out of Russian influence? The resignation of Major-General Patrick Hurley, American Ambassador to Chungking, and his sensational statements seemed in this context

to indicate something more sinister than what met the eye. Intervention was the same whether in Spain or in China and America was seen to be redeeming her 'moral obligation' in China in the same way as Britain was doing in Indo-China and Indonesia. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's appeal for Chinese unity against foreign exploitation reflected the heart of India in the matter. It was strongly urged that so far as North China was concerned, the issue was clearly for its inhabitants to decide whether to support the Yen-an regime on its record or withdraw allegiance therefrom. And the first prerequisite to any democratic solution of the differences between Chungking and Yen-an was the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops whose presence in her favour seemed to have prompted Chungking to force a decision. Chungking should, it was added, scorn interested U. S. assistance and devise an independent Chinese policy based on unity inside the country to enable China to assume the leadership of Asia.

VI

In regard to the new Anglo-American proposals favouring the continuation, pending interim arrangements, of the present Jewish immigration at the monthly rate of 1500 and advocating trusteeship as the ultimate political system, the feeling was that they would be denounced by both Arabs and Jews as 'a plague on both houses.' While sympathy was expressed with the Jews in their present plight, they could not, it was averred, justly expect the establishment of a new State—peopled entirely by a race having nothing in common with the Arabs—in the heart of an Arab State. Pointed attention was drawn to the fact that such a new State could not continue without the permanent support of Anglo-American arms. The Zionist demand had only given an opportunity for Britain to let the hope of Palestine independence disappear in the dim mist of trusteeship. The only wise and, in their own interests, safe course was, it was stated, to abandon the fantastic demand for a Jewish State and form a united front with the Arabs for common political emancipation.

VII

India's first reaction to the Azerbaijan revolt in Iran primarily directed against the 'offensive' measures of the Central Government in Tehran was one of suspicion against Russia. It appeared curious that the trouble should have started in the northern Azerbaijan province which lies in the zone under Russian occupation. It also originated in an area which Russia had been interested to see coalesced with the Azerbaijan Soviet Republic across the Iranian border. The Russian refusal to allow the troops of the legally constituted Iranian Government to enter the province for dealing with the revolt deepened the suspicion against Russia. This refusal was criticized as tantamount to a denial of Iranian sovereignty. As against these considerations lending suspicion against Russia were set the facts of (i) coincidence on 20 November, '45 of the Iranian Government's first announcement about fierce fighting with that of the resolutions passed by the Azerbaijan National Congress demanding cultural autonomy; (ii) racial and cultural homogeneity between the Azerbaijanians in Iranian province with those of the Soviet Republic and their substantial

differences with all other Iranians; and their economic degradation under the feudal Iranian ruling clique hands in glove with Anglo-American big business in tragic contrast with the prosperous conditions of their brethern under the Soviet dispensation. These facts, on the other hand, inclined India to feel that the allegation, that the insurgent movement was Soviet-inspired, might after all have been a trumped-up-one. The Russian foreign policy ever since the Russian Revolution and her relations with Iran reinforced this impression. The movement for democratic freedom in Iran seemed to have got mixed up with Anglo-American power politics for oil and strategic interests. In the light of U. S. refusal to withdraw their troops from China, her suggestion to Russia and Britain to withdraw troops before 1 January, '45 was not seriously considered; Britain and U. S., it was asserted, had no moral right to advise Russia to that effect. The Persian Government was criticized for appealing to interested imperialist powers, instead of seeking a remedy with the co-operation of her own people.

INDIA'S INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS

I. RATIFICATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER: OCTOBER 18, 1945

This ratification commits India to the following obligations:—

She must (i) settle her disputes with other nations by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered; (ii) refrain in her relations with other nations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations and (iii) give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the Charter and refrain from giving assistance to any State against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action. (Articles 3, 4 and 5).

India must bear her share of the expenses of the Organization as apportioned by the General Assembly. (Article 16).

She has agreed to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the Charter. (Article 25).

If India has a dispute with any other State 'the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security,' she has, first of all, to seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means—as may be decided by agreement with the other party. (Article 33).

When the Security Council declares the existence of a threat to international peace and declares the 'complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations' with such States as decided upon by the Security Council, India must comply with the directions of the Council. If, before these measures are taken, the Security Council directs the

application of provisional measures (in order to prevent an aggravation of the situation), she must comply with it. She must make available to the Security Council, 'on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements'—hereafter to be entered into between herself and the Security Council—armed forces, assistance and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security. In addition, she must 'hold immediately available' air-force contingents (as provided for in the agreement referred to above) for combined international enforcement action. She must join in affording mutual assistance—to members of the United Nations—in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council. (Articles 40, 41, 43, 45 and 49).

As a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice, she must comply with the decision of the Court in any case to which she is a party. (Articles 93 and 94).

She must respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities. (Article 100).

India must (i) register every 'treaty and every international agreement entered into' by her with the Secretariat of the United Nations; (ii) provide to the United Nations Organization 'such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the fulfilment of its purposes' and 'such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfilment of its purposes' and (iii) give to Representatives of the Members of the United Nations and officials of the Organization 'such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions in connexion with the Organization.' (Articles 102, 104 and 105).

The Privileges enjoyed by India are:—

She may send five representatives to the General Assembly of the United Nations (Note: She will have no vote if she is in arrears in the payment of her financial contributions for two full years—though the Assembly may permit her to vote if it is satisfied that the failure is due to conditions beyond her control.) (Articles 1 and 19).

She may stand for election to one of the six non-permanent seats on the Security Council. If elected, the term is two years. If she is not a member of the Security Council, she may nevertheless participate, without vote, in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council 'whenever the latter considers that the interests of India are specially affected.' She has a right to be invited (if not a member of the Security Council) to participate in the discussions in the Security Council relating to a dispute to which she is a party—though she will have no vote. (Articles 23, 31 and 32).

She has a right to bring any dispute or any situation—which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security—to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly. (Article 35).

She has a right to be invited to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of her armed forces—if

she is not already a member of the Security Council and before the Security Council, having decided to use force for maintenance of international peace, calls upon her to provide armed forces in fulfilment of her obligations under the treaty referred to elsewhere. She may be invited by the Military Staff Committee to be associated with it 'when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities required her participation in its work.' If India finds herself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of preventive or enforcement measures against any State taken by the Security Council, she has the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems. She has the right of self-defence if an armed attack is made against her, until the Security Council has taken the necessary measures to maintain peace—though she is bound to report these measures to the Security Council. (Articles 44, 47, 50 and 51).

She is entitled to stand for election to one of the eighteen seats on the Economic and Social Council. She has a right to be invited to participate, without vote, in the deliberations of the Council on any matter of particular concern to her—if she is not already a member of the Council. (Articles 61 and 69).

She has a right to stand for election to one of the seats on the Trusteeship Council which are filled by election by the General Assembly 'to ensure that the total number of members of the Trusteeship Council is equally divided between those Members of the United Nations which administer trust territories and those which do not.' (Article 86).

2. ADHERENCE TO THE BRETTON WOODS AGREEMENT : 24 DECEMBER, 1945

By an ordinance called the International Monetary Fund and Bank Ordinance dated 24 December 1945, the Government of India have ratified the Bretton Woods Agreement. By this decision India has signified acceptance of the principles of international economic and monetary co-operation laid down at the Bretton Woods Conference and readiness to participate in the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank, the two institutions which constitute the machinery to implement those principles. Briefly, the Fund aims at establishing exchange stability and multilateral system of payments and at enabling member countries to correct maladjustments in their balance of payments on current account by allotting predetermined quotas of foreign exchange out of its own resources subscribed by all the members. The International Bank has as its object the freeing of the channels of international investment by means of direct loans out of its own funds contributed by members and guarantees on loans made by private parties under certain specified conditions. These two institutions deal with the long-term and short-term maladjustments in the balance of payments respectively which have been such a source of disturbance to free trade in the past. The international commercial conference to meet in the coming summer will concern itself with tariff reduction and other measures for the promotion of international trade. Then will emerge a fairly clear future of the international economic system of the post-war years, of which India will be a part.

The obligations and privileges arising out of participation in the two institutions are embodied in the Final Act, issued by the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference. India's quota or subscription to the Fund and the Bank is \$400 mn. each or a total of \$800 mn. of the subscription to the Fund, 25 per cent will be payable in gold and the balance in own currency.

Membership in the Fund imposes an obligation on the part of the member to maintain orderly exchange arrangements and to avoid competitive exchange alterations and discriminatory currency practices; to conduct exchange transactions on agreed parity; not to propose exchange in the par value of its currency except to correct a fundamental disequilibrium and to make changes in its exchange rate only after consultation with the Fund and subject to the extent of the alteration permitted by the Fund. Sections 5 of Articles IV says that for a 10 per cent change in the par value the Fund will raise no objection and for a further 10 per cent the Fund might concur or not, but shall declare its attitude within 72 hours. In return the Fund's resources will be at the disposal of the member country in amounts based on its quota to tide over current deficits. When the currency of any particular country becomes scarce the Fund will ration the available quantity among the members. The Fund may require members to furnish such information as may be necessary for its operations. The management of the Fund will be in the hands of a Board of Governors, Executive Directors, a Managing Director and a Staff. All powers will be vested in the Board of Governors to which one Governor and the alternate shall be appointed by each member country. The Executive Directors shall be responsible for the conduct of the general operations of the Fund. There shall be 12 directors, of whom 5 will be appointed by the largest quota holders and the rest by election. As soon as support has been given to the Scheme by countries having 65 per cent of the total quota, the United States Government will notify the fact to each member and at this time each member country will have to remit to the U. S. A. Government 1/100 of one per cent of its quota for administrative expenses. In the case of India it amounts to \$ 4 lakhs. When the Fund is of the opinion that it can start exchange operations, it will so notify each member who shall communicate within thirty days the par value of its currency based on the rates prevailing on the 60th day before the entry into force of the Agreement. Within ninety days the par value so communicated can be altered by agreement after notification. Membership of the International Bank will be open only to members of the Fund.

The advantages to India from the institutions will, therefore, be all the advantages accruing from freer trade, orderly exchange adjustments and freer flow of international investment, while in return certain limits to economic sovereignty are accepted. The advantage of ratification before 31 December, 1945 is that India becomes an original member. Members joining the Fund at a later date will do so subject to such conditions as the Fund might impose. Those conditions are not specified in the Final Act. Another advantage will be that India, being among the biggest holders of quota and therefore voting strength, can have her representative elected as executive director and thus have a voice in the inner counsels of the Fund. Membership of the Fund entails no obli-

gations of a permanent character. Withdrawal from the Fund takes effect as soon as the office of the Fund receives intimation of secession.

3. AGREEMENT WITH THE U. S. A. 27 DECEMBER, 1945

The Government of India have signed an agreement with the U. S. Government undertaking to buy all U. S. surplus property in India which has not already been sold or offered for sale by the Foreign Liquidation Commission and which will not be withdrawn for military purposes. All property which is now in the process of being sold to private buyers as well as property which may be required by U. N. R. R. A. up to January 15, 1946, are exempted from the agreement.

According to the agreement, the Government of India will take over a vast tonnage of U. S. property, possibly in excess of 600,000 tons with an estimated cost value of 500,000,000 dollars.

This figure does not, however, represent the actual sale price, which is to be agreed upon at a meeting in Washington in January or February 1946, at which representatives of the two Governments will settle questions arising from lend-lease and reciprocal obligations and other matters arising from the war.

ASSOCIATIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES INTERESTED IN INDIA

2. AUSTRALIA-INDIA ASSOCIATION*

The Australia-India Association is preparing a publication for the Australian people and the branches of our Association in each of the Australian States.

The name of this magazine will be *Goodwill*.

The object will be to rally the people of Australia to a closer friendly, social and cultural understanding between the two countries. This policy has been the basis on which all the Association work has been founded through its years of existence.

The issue of this publication will be also used to bring together the branches in all the States to an Australian-wide conference in order to weld more closely together Australian goodwill to India and its people and their problems.

Already the Association has awakened in the Australian people an interest that must be of extreme importance to the two peoples. Much educational work has been done, and Bengal Relief Appeals have transmitted substantial cash to India. Indian Clubs have been equipped and are being used extensively by Indian soldiers and sailors.

All Indian prisoners of war are receiving its care, and no opportunity has been lost in winning the confidence of Indians nationals visiting this country.

*See INDIA QUARTERLY, Vol. 1, pp. 274—75.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- (1) *THE OUTLOOK FOR INTERNATIONAL LAW.* By J. L. Brierly. 1944 (London: Milford, 6s. net).
- (2) *INTERNATIONAL LAW.* By Norman Bentwich. 1945 (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1s. net).
- (3) *WHAT IS A NATION?* By Harold Stannard. 1945 (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1s. net).
- (4) *NATIONALISM AND AFTER.* By Edward Hallett Carr. 1945 (London: Macmillan, 3s. 6d. net).

WITH the disintegration of the Papacy and the Empire, Universalism failed: but the 'sovereign' States of Europe soon learnt to behave as a Community of Nations with International Law as a referee. The Industrial Revolution and the scientific and technological developments of the 19th and 20th centuries followed by two Great Wars in one generation have now compelled man to look for law, order and welfare in the direction of an organization much wider than his Nation-State which has, so far, claimed all his loyalty. The four books under review make an attempt to point the way.

Starting with the thesis that the co-existence of States makes International Law a fact of the life of States, Prof. Brierly, however, regards it as something optional, with nothing compulsory and unconditional in its bindings as law. In this 'laissez faire' sphere of international law, with no uniformity in the build of States but with particularities dominating the international scene, the 'vital interests' of the State are emphasized by this author as something beyond the purview of law—juridically insoluble—where the strong State will have a will of its own: for, says he, 'nowhere in human society power has been subordinate to law.' What then is the way out? Prof. Brierly's answer is that by creating a sense of 'community' feeling in the world more than with any compulsive surrender of State sovereignty, progress in International Law will be made. Not law, even if backed by force, but informed public opinion will produce lasting good. Political pressure brought to bear on a recalcitrant State will make for peaceful change. Third-Party 'Influence' more than third-party compulsory judgment is the prevailing thought in the author's mind which may possibly make an appeal to those who take this to be a 'realistic' outlook for international law.

Mr. Norman Bentwich makes a welcome contribution to the enlightenment of the 'Common Man' on a subject so far supposed to be reserved for statesmen, jurists and publicists. After giving a brief, but exceedingly readable account of the origin, development and functions of international law upto the Covenant period, the author indicates his 'plan for world order after the War.' Pascal is his guide: justice without force is impotent: force without justice is tyrannical. . . . The need is to bring together justice and force.' Mr. Bentwich unequivocally demands that 'international law must be buttressed on a

sure force.' Further, the 'Common Man' must come directly under the working of international law and order: and then, if to his education is given a 'world' bias, the public opinion so formed will be the most stable foundation of the international law of the future.

In *What is a Nation?* Mr. Harold Stannard makes an outstanding contribution to the elucidation of ideas as well as facts that have brought nations and nationalism into being. The influence of blood, language, religion and temperament ('Common character' as quoted from Herodotus, Book VIII, ch. 14) comes in for a searching re-examination in the context of nationalism: 'the most powerful social impulse at present operative and...almost universally discredited as the ultimate form of social organization.' Reference is made to Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau whose ideas have helped in the formation of modern Nation-States. But as the facts of history like religious wars (17th century), dynastic 'sovereignty' rivalry (18th century), political and economic issues (19th and 20th centuries), with dreadful wars coming up as the result of the exclusiveness of States compel the individual who loves life, liberty and property to ask: 'Why must I be killed for the king or the capitalist?', the author demands a new synthesis which shall somehow transcend nationalism.

'Hemisphere defence,' 'Multinational regional unions,' is the solution offered by Prof. Carr. The principle of 'self-determination' was carried too far in the Treaty of Versailles (1919). Political and economic nationalism reached its climax. The insecurity of small powers invited aggression at the hands of their powerful neighbours. The strong hand of British Finance and British Navy—which had practically given law to the world in the 19th century—had ceased to be operative. Hence the chaos from which Prof. Carr thinks the world can be saved only by a frankly acknowledged formation of 'regional' groups under the respective leadership of the U. S. A., U. S. S. R., Great Britain and China in the different spheres marked out for them. Prof. Carr is, of course, willing to pay the price that 'Great Powers may abuse power,' and, strangely enough, finds support from W. Lippmann: 'The World Organization cannot police the policemen.' Will this 'balance of forces between the Great Powers' bring comfort to the harried 'Common Man' in whom Prof. Carr is genuinely interested?

October 9, 1945.

T. K. SHAHANI

SOLUTION IN ASIA. By Owen Lattimore. 1945 (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., \$2.00)

THIS book, the expansion of certain University lectures, is a valuable guide. As W. Stead remarked, in 'complications of peace after the simplification of war' anything with the intriguing title intended towards solving world problems is welcome; especially as 'experts through adherence to habitual thinking develop a portentous technique for seeing through brick walls but with no aptitude to see through glass windows.' Hitherto what occurred outside Asia was important. Outsiders, even with no linguistic ability, were in privileged positions inside the Continent. Prior to the war Anglo-American

dealings with Japan never contested the latter's claim to make demands upon China.

Asia is to be thought not as Middle, Near, Far, or South-East, as approached in each case by sea-routes, but as a vast continuous area. Nor is its industrialization any longer to be identified with the unchallenged prestige of capitalist thought, due to wide-spread Marxism. Our attitude to Asia should now be reciprocal. Attempted overlordship of Asia was the natural sequence of Jap'cut-rate Imperialism' fostered by the merging of feudal with trade interests and the combining of highly cartelized mechanized industry with agriculture's social outlook. Later still, unmechanized labour leads to overpopulation and rural poverty, all of which colonial conquests cannot remedy.

No wonder military aggression became the outcome; the only difference held about it was as to its timing, not its propriety. We should not let the Japanese mistake of the attack on Pearl Harbour wipe out the memory of our own mistakes.

China is a land of feudal characteristics with no military tradition. While the foreigner within its confines has more than equality, the Chinese partake of it in foreign colonies but has much less of it abroad. For various reasons an urban upper class has provided revolutionary leadership. By successive phases of partial cohesion along with partial loosening of foreign grip, with penetration of European-American thought but repulse of control, by uniting of businessmen, peasants and labourers for the overthrow of war and landlords, there was evolved the Kuomintang, or Nationalist party founded by Sun Yatsen and strengthened by Russian revolutionary influence. Between coalitions, compromisers and extremists Chiang Kai-shek became the focus and symbol of Chinese unity, admirably qualified for the rôle by reason of his varied experiences. He is a coalition statesman of genius, an arbitrator rather than dictator.

After dealing with Chinese party politics, and incidentally quoting a German view that *space* was the most important military defensive factor common to both China and Russia, the author presses the need for combining the Kuomintang and Communists, which happily seems about to be effected from recent news. Military and political factors of prestige have interacted and caused China's bargaining power to vary accordingly as a front or side-line conception was assumed. The accord being arrived at renders the author's arguments more striking.

Political immaturity may be illusory, e.g., Korea. Performance within one's boundaries rather than propaganda abroad has a greater power of attraction, as Stalin's wisdom foresaw. Democracy and freedom do not connote the same meaning to all. Referring to the unpopularity of (e.g., China) communities living in other colonial possessions, it may be due rather to the reason that they became *colonists* than to the fact that they were Chinese. Smaller units may gravitate towards larger, but not be subject to them, if an admiration is felt for the latter's programme. Such attraction is not best offset by new policies or made illegal, but by increasing the counter attraction. Russia, to maintain her present comparative advantages, would need to increase personal

liberty as well as economic prospects. Power of attraction is not in itself a policy; it must at least have an objective. One negative thing about the U. S. A. policy is not to annex. A colonial system is simply control of one group of people by another; with the British, Dutch, and also French, there has been a long historical growth, emergence from which must be dictated by planned policy not heedless of home consequences. Yet frustrated evolution breaks out in revolution. Moral issues cannot be divorced from practical methods.

As co-ordination of policy with strategy helped in war, so must it be in peace and of such, military security must necessarily be a stabilizing factor, though clear political thinking may to a surprising extent overcome military weakness, or even planning. Discussing this problem with all nations concerned must perforce be in the crucible of the date when written to be confirmed or disproved as even now subsequent events are showing. But the trend of ending a great historical phase of Imperialism must be by a transition process; and as all without exception are involved it should be guided into smooth evolutionary channels, and adapting ourselves into the bargain. Thus there is a closeness of interaction between domestic and external policies.

Japan should be kept under observation from Air-service-acquired island bases farther South, and from Chinese and Russian bases as well. Her output ought to be channelled towards rehabilitation and supplying consumer goods in devastated areas, while avoiding disindustrialization in place of industrial demilitarization; a change in any political system requires likewise a change in symbol, and this involves the problem of how to deal with the Japanese Emperor.

In dealing with other nations the time has arrived to stop speculating and make a bid for co-ordination as well as co-operation, and therefore it is up to us all to make a workable reality of the United Nations Organization now being launched.

But the author concludes that in all the new and changing outlooks Asia is of critical importance and will largely determine the degree to which the capitalist and collectivist world can co-operate. No longer must Asia be considered as an overflow area for the surplus energies of the Western hemisphere, but as a vast testing ground for our theories and performances.

Certainly, as expressed in one of the commendations on its blurb, this book is a 'a short cut to basic knowledge of the Far East by one of the few Americans who really know Asia.' And in reviewing it we have had facts we may have already been aware of, associated together in a convincing fashion, as a solvent more than a 'solution.'

October 15, 1945.

R. C. BARTELS

POST-MORTEM ON MALAYA. By Virginia Thompson. 1943 (New York: Macmillan, Issued under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations. \$ 3.00)

WHY WE LOST SINGAPORE. By Dorothy Crisp. 1945 (Bombay: Thacker & Co., Rs. 4/12/-)

HERE are two remarkable books dealing more or less with the same subject—the former remarkable for its scholarly contribution, deep research, breadth of vision, comprehensive study and dispassionate analysis and the latter equally remarkable for its racial and personal vanity, offensive tone, propagandist nature and insular outlook.

Post-Mortem on Malaya is a standard work on the social, economic and political development of Malaya between the two world wars. Miss Thompson, who has already earned a wide recognition as an authority on South-East Asia, has packed within the covers of her latest book many valuable facts and figures about the various aspects of Malayan life and made it exceedingly interesting. Even old residents of Malaya, who go through the book, come across some important new facts here and there. So exhaustive has been her research and she can be justly proud of the result of her labours.

The military disaster that overtook Singapore and the rest of Malaya is not the main theme of the book as the title is likely to suggest. As a matter of fact, only two chapters, out of the 13 chapters in the book deal with the military and political aspects of the fighting in Malaya.

A comprehensive bibliography considerably adds to the usefulness of the book.

It is disgusting to write about Miss Dorothy Crisp's book after reviewing Virginia Thompson's delightful volume. *Why We Lost Singapore* is one of the most mischievous and anti-Asiatic publications put on the market for some years. The author has got an uninviting style and on almost every page she laments over how the authorities failed to follow her suggestions for saving the Empire. The less said about the other aspects of the book, the better.

December 2, 1945.

R. V. A.

JAPAN. By Sir George Sansom. Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs 70. 1944 (London and Bombay: Oxford University Press, 6d. net).

SIR George Sansom's pamphlet (32 pp.) on Japan purports to give a brief account of Japan's internal development, political, social and economic, during the last hundred years. Japanese art and culture are left out of the scope of the work.

The crux in understanding or interpreting Japan has always been the inconsistency between her phenomenal progressiveness in all that pertains to the externals of national life and organization and the unchangeable character of the traditionary mental pattern. The peculiar conception of the Mikado, the so-called 'national family-ism,' the worship of *Kami* or deceased ancestors supposed to be continuing their existence on a higher plane of being—between

such ideas and conceptions and Japan's modernism it is not the question of a time-lag, for they constitute a traditional ideology,—the essential Nipponism—which dominates Japan's national life with inexorable power. How was this ideology shaped? How came it to be pre-dominant in Japan's evolution? Sir George Sansom's answer is that it was the work of the politically minded leaders of Japan,—that 'a very deliberate process of indoctrination was carried out, by which legendary belief was turned into a political axiom.' But Japanese scholars themselves like Okakura, Nitobe, Suzuki, Harada and others have insisted in their writings that this ideology, incorporated in the State-religion of Shintoism, was the result of a spiritual Renaissance,—the renaissance of what they call 'inner Japan.' The Meiji Restoration of 1868—by far the most far-reaching event in Japanese history—initiated Japan's modern era. Sir George accounts for the event by an historical conjuncture of political and economic causes. But Japanese historians point out that it was really led up to by a theological and largely academic movement, already a century old before the restoration of the Meiji, which put a new value on and gave a new orientation to the old myths and legends and was a movement of 'Return to the ancient.' In any case, it is inconceivable that, even in defeat and disaster, Japan will recant what Sir George Sansom calls 'the doctrines of nationalism dressed up in the pseudo-historical, pseudo-mystical garments of State Shinto.' Thus arises the problem of fitting Japan into the post-war world-order and the author discusses the problem tentatively in conclusion. 'Japan has never suffered defeat and there is no means of judging how she will react to national disaster.' The author's suggestion is that, with regard to Japan, the task of the victorious powers will be 'to devise a plan by which Japan can be ensured a livelihood but denied the power of aggression.' But the forms of political development in post-war Japan are impossible to predict, though it may be possible for the United Powers to influence their trend to a limited extent.

July 7, 1945

S. DUTT

THE CHINESE EXODUS. By J. C. Daruvala. 1944 (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, Rs. 4/8/-)

The Chinese Exodus by Professor Daruvala is a timely and concise book on recent developments in China and her vital problems arising from long years of her war of resistance against aggression. The book is not only descriptive, but also interpretative. The author does not withhold criticism and praise wherever due. Only a few people, who have a sound background knowledge of the history and philosophy of the East and a clear understanding of political and economic conditions of the West, could have grasped, as the Professor has done in a comparatively short time, the fundamentals of the vast and complex problems as are confronting war-time China. The book within the compass of only 119 pages gives a comprehensive picture of China at war; and the handling of the multitude of materials has been done in an admirably concise manner.

The first chapter contains a brief historical and cultural account of China and the Chinese people. It is followed by ten chapters on current aspects of Chinese life and activities, viz., The Kuomintang; Principles and Administration; Economics, Currency and Inflation; Agriculture, Food and Industries; Education and the War; Philosophy and Religion; National Characteristics; Emancipation of Women; the Generalissimo—his views; the war and its effects and Cultural life and Thought. The final chapter is a summing-up of the author's views on China's destiny and the rôle she is to play in the post-war world and its possible effects on other members of the family of nations.

The author has shown great discrimination and taste in regard to the finely executed illustrations contained in his book and, except for the rather formal-looking portrait of Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, it can be said of the rest that they are specimens of Chinese art very popular everywhere in the country. But the last illustration, facing page 32, should be described as 'General and Attendant' instead of 'Emperor and Attendant.' The General, whose name was Kwan-Yu and who lived in the period of the Three Kingdoms, remains immortalized in China as the most illustrious example of Chinese valour and chivalry.

As regards the two maps found in this book, it is to be noted that the first one showing the extent of occupied and Communist territories gives much more space to the 'Communist Territory' than is actually the case. The area under the Communist control is limited to the border regions of the Shensi, Kansu and Ningsia provinces. The second map, however, forms a really useful reference map of China.

The comparative Chronological Table of China, Asia and Europe on page 11 serves as a good guide for historians and scholars.

February 20, 1945

SHEN CHANG-HUAN

SIAM. By Josiah Crosby. Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs 26. (Bombay : Oxford University Press, 6 as.)

SIR Josiah Crosby, whose knowledge of Siam has been gathered in the course of a stay of nearly 25 years in that country, has managed to condense a great deal of information about Siam in this pamphlet. Students of South-East Asiatic countries will find useful background material regarding Siam's recent history, her government, people, communications and trade. Many will agree with Sir Josiah's hope that, after Japan has been defeated, Siam would be helped by the Allied Powers to run her government as an independent country on democratic lines preserving her traditional monarchic constitution. She made a gallant attempt to model her constitution after that of Britain's and in that she nearly succeeded. The sudden shifting of the balance of power in South-East Asia in Japan's favour had the unfortunate effect of helping to install a dictatorial military group in power in Siam; but that will vanish with the defeat of Japan. There will still remain, however, the question of Siam's recent additions to her territory in the shape of a slice of French Cambodia and the British Shan States of Kengtung and Mongpan, which are inhabited by people

closely connected by racial ties to the Thais. If the people of the areas mentioned above desire incorporation with Siam, then it should be wisdom to permit them to do so, instead of standing in their way and perpetuating a fruitful source of discord in the years to come.

September 15, 1945

T. G. NARAYANAN

TIBET. By David MacDonald. Oxford Pamphlets On Indian Affairs 30. 1945 (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 6 as.)

As one of the most isolated and forbidding parts of the world, Tibet remains a wonder to most of the outside people. But its strategic and commanding position over the Upper Yangtse Valley, Burma and northern India claims the attention of all students of international affairs. David MacDonald, the British Trade Agent, born of a Scottish father and a Sikkimese mother, has given a brief and clear picture of Tibet's administration, economics and foreign relations in a single pamphlet. For some twenty years the author lived in the Chumbi Valley, chiefly in Yangtse and Yatung, and now he is stationed at Kalimpong, near Darjeeling, where half the entire trade between Tibet and India passes through. He is one of the few people who are qualified to write on this subject; and his work is commendable.

October 28, 1945

CHEN HAN-SENG

SUMMARY OF CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS U. S. A. Vol. I, No. 1 September 1943-January 1944. No. 2. January-June 1944. No. 3 August-December 1944—Issued under the authority of the Empire Parliamentary Association.

STUDENTS of public affairs will warmly welcome this publication issued under the auspices of the Empire Parliamentary Association as an indispensable guide to the understanding of the attitude of the world's greatest democracy to world problems. The three numbers under review include the discussions in the Senate and the House of Representatives on such topics as participation of the U. S. A. in the establishment and maintenance of world peace, the Moscow Conference (1943), the extension of Lend-Lease, Palestine as a national home for the Jews, etc. The summaries of the speeches are well made, and are short, to the point and clear.

October 1, 1945

A. APPIDORA

GERMANY BETWEEN TWO WARS. By Lindley Fraser. 1944 (London: Oxford University Press, 8s. 6d. net).

In the words of its author, 'this book has been written in the belief that, by studying what the National Socialists said and did in the past, one can forearm oneself against what their successors will say and do...' (p. 179), and a critical study of the book shows that the task has been successfully performed

by the Oxonian Professor in the service of the B. B. C. It is essentially a book of propaganda and consequently lays no claim to originality and impartiality. Its contents were first broadcasted to the Germans with a view to influence the German opinion on the side of the Allies. It is a war-time production (1944), written at a time when the end of the war was not in sight.

Mr. Fraser has described in a lucid style the circumstances leading to the armistice of 1918, the Allies' defence of the Peace Settlement of 1919-20, the factors that helped Hitler to come to power (1933) and also the German war-preparations from 1933 to 1939. Equally impressive is his treatment of the circumstances which encouraged Hitler to declare war on Britain in 1939.

The book contains seven chapters and one Appendix. Although a work of propaganda, it throws light on certain controversial points and can be used with profit by all students of history and current politics. It is a good survey of German history from 1918 to 1939.

November 10, 1945

VIDYA DHAR MAHAJAN

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA. By P. P. Balsara. 1945. (Bombay: Milford, As. 6)

A factual study of the problems of the Union together with solutions and a programme for development.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND THE WORLD. By Richard Frost. 1945. (London: R. I. I. A., 1sh. 6d. net.)

A good summary of the main trends of the discussions in the Commonwealth Relations Conference in February 1945 on the evolution of the Commonwealth and its problems of Defence, economic and colonial policies, racial questions and migration and methods and ideals to be pursued.

CENTRAL EUROPEAN FEDERATION. By Adam Pragier. 1945. (Aundh: The World Federation Library, Re. 1-8)

An interesting approach to the question of a Central European Sub-Federation within the framework of a World Federation of Nations. . . . Slightly coloured by the peculiar problems of the author's country, Poland and her agony as the victims of Nazi and Russian aggression.

CHINA IN AGONY AND TRIUMPH. By B. L. Rallia Ram. 1944. (Lahore: Institute of Current Affairs, Re. 1)

An informative sketch of the development of modern China and of its contemporary problems.

AND NOW CHINA. By K. B. Vaidya. 1945. (Bombay: Thacker & Co., Rs. 4/14/-)

Panoramic picture of the relations between China, Russia and Japan with emphasis on the alleged Russian designs on China.

FOREIGN BOOKS ON INDIA

THE UNSUNG A RECORD OF BRITISH SERVICES IN INDIA. By Maud Diver. 1945. (London: Blackwood, 12s. 6d. net.)

The Unsung by Maud Diver is meant to be 'a record of the British Services in India.' According to the Publisher's note this book should serve as a useful educational factor in schooling the British public as to its rights and responsibilities in India, specially at the present time when there has been so much unjust criticism about the British rule in India by people who should know better and whilst the All-India Congress clamours for that millennium when India will once more be left to her own devices so that she may become an easy prey to the next conquering race. Such an introduction by the Publisher should be quite enough to make anybody who intends to know better not to want to read any further but apart from this 'blurb', the book is a very interesting record, more a description of the times and the men responsible for the early development of India than, of the engineering feats accomplished by them.

The description of the building of the Grand Trunk Road—the road that runs straight bearing, without crowding, India's traffic through 1,500 miles, the road that took 40 years to build—is most interesting.

In the interlude for Rebellion, there is a very good description of the Mutiny and a very unbiassed one at that, and it shows up how, even then, red tape and ignorance were prevalent.

The story of the building of the road from Lahore to Peshawar is quite gripping, the engineering skill and perseverance required—to fight against all conceivable odds, lack of skilled labour, lack of any modern machinery, the jungle and the heat—must have been tremendous and we cannot but help admiring the men who built the road.

In the Chapter on the Khyber, the author takes us back to the Khyber of 1842—a No-Man's-Land that was neither India nor Afghanistan, one of the least known and most remarkable regions of the earth. It is mainly a story of Robert Warburton who came to the Peshawar border as a Political Officer and very soon made a mark in the handling of the local tribes, probably owing to the Afghan blood in his vein.

The Khyber railway remains a great engineering feat even today. Surveyed by Gordon Hearne, a brilliant Engineer with 32 years of railway experience—in less than six months he had surveyed the whole length of it—tunnels and all were located on paper and plans and estimates were well in hand. From the outset, however, the tribes were dead against the railway being built in their country. The fire carriage might bring many good things, but it would kill their independence, their breath of life and so zealously they erased every mark of the survey, and vowed they would seize and torture any railway officer who dared to enter their free land. One of the main difficulties of the Khyber railway then was how to obtain the labour for its construction, and it was Victor Bayley deputed to construct half of the line who ultimately won over the tribesmen.

The Gujerat famine in all its gruesome details has been described and here

one can say that remembering the so recent Bengal famine one might well ask what was done and what has been done to see that the dark shadow of a famine never again falls upon this unhappy land.

There is a complete chapter on the irrigation work of the Punjab which transformed it into the granary of India. The Sukkur Barrage and the Periyar project are both great engineering feats, when one realizes the type of work that had to be done and against what odds. There are other great feats of engineering skill and other men, both British and Indian—of whom no mention has been made by the author who also makes no mention of the great industrialist who helped to make India what she is today. Having read the book one has to acknowledge one thing that whatever may be the reason for the laying of the roads, railways, building the bridges, constructing the dams, and digging the canals—whether it was for India's exploitation or for India's gain, that only history will tell—there remains this fact that there were great feats of engineering skill by men, again both British and Indian who most of the time carried their lives in their hands, sweltered in unspeakable heat, froze in bitter cold and whose success depended mainly on their personal example, courage and resources.

Much has been done by the British—no one will and no one can deny that—and at a cost no one can evaluate. But much remains to be done before India takes her right place among the great nations of the world and one cannot agree with those that cry that a free India, the India of the future 'left to her own devices' will not be able to reach this goal—alone.

December 21, 1945

DADI S. MULLA

OTHER BOOKS

BETTER VILLAGES. By F. L. Brayne. Third Edition. 1945. (Bombay: Oxford University Press, Rs. 2/4/-)

Mr. Brayne's well-known book has now reached a third edition and is notable for a new essay on the resettlement of demobilized soldiers. The book contains a very large number of useful suggestions on almost every topic of village life. Mr. Brayne addresses the individual villager, in whom he seeks to create a spontaneous desire for self-improvement. Problems of rural poverty in India, as in any peasant country, are fundamentally problems of economic organization. In this respect Mr. Brayne's point of view is inadequate, so that his 'musts' and 'shoulds' have no chance of becoming effective rules of action except occasionally and temporarily, in isolated spots and in special conditions. As a pioneer in rural uplift, much gratitude is due to Mr. Brayne, but clearly the time has come to turn to a more dynamic social and economic approach.

December 15, 1945

TARLOK SINGH

PROFESSIONAL CONDUCT AND ADVOCACY. By K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar. 1945. (Bombay: Oxford University Press, Rs. 7/8/-)

A new edition of a well-known book. The following extract from Sir Maurice Gwyer's foreword indicates its great value to the law student and the practitioner:

'I remember that when a copy of the original edition first came into my hands and I began to read it, I found that I could not lay it down until I had read it right through. . . . It is a book which should be in the hands of every law student and young practitioner; and many older practitioners would derive much profit from studying its pages.'

October 15, 1945

A. A.

BRITISH CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY. *By* Sir Ernest Barker. (London: Oxford University Press, 6d.)

An authoritative exposition of the development of British constitutional monarchy, the logic of that development and of the present powers and prerogatives of the monarchy.

PLAN FOR INDIAN LABOUR. *By* Kanji Dwarkadas. 1945 (Bombay: Thacker & Co., As. 8)

Based on long personal experience of the working conditions of Indian labour, this Essay includes many helpful suggestions requiring legislative and administrative action.

INDIA'S MAJOR PROBLEMS. *By* P. J. Jagirdar. 1945. (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, Re. 1/12)

A realistic attempt to deal with the Indian problems of poverty, ignorance, ill-health and political subjection.

THIS INDIA. *By* D. F. Karaka. 1945. (Bombay: Thacker & Co., Rs. 6/14)

A collection—at once interesting and irritating—of the author's articles on numerous subjects ranging from Mahatma Gandhi to Sex Appeal, from Azad's Great Ideals to A Bogus Radio Star.

MY STUDENT DAYS IN AMERICA. *By* Bharatan Kumarappa. 1945. (Bombay: Padma Publications, Rs. 3)

Gives an intimate description of American life and the impressions left by it on a sensitive Indian student.

WHAT NEXT? CAN INDIA BE UNITED? *By* J. M. Kumarappa. 1945. (Bombay: Bureau of Research and Publications, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, As. 12)

A thought-provoking essay to grapple with the situation after the Simla episode. . . . Pleads for the recognition of social geography and the principle of parity of partnership and equality of representation by treating units on a basis of parity for the purposes of representation regardless of 'populational' differences.

THE MIND OF MAHATMA GANDHI. *Compiled by* R. K. Prabhu and U. R. Rao. 1945. (Bombay: Milford, Rs. 3)

A valuable addition to Gandhian literature ladling out in a readymade form

Mahatmajī's personal logic on such questions as truth, non-violence, industrialization, fasting, labour, idolatry, birth-control etc.

THE FUNCTION OF STATE RAILWAYS IN INDIAN NATIONAL ECONOMY. By T. V. Ramanujam. 1944. (Madras: The Author, Rs. 4)

A useful study of the origin and development of railway systems and of the evolution of State policy.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES AND THEIR ROLE IN NATIONAL ECONOMY. By R. V. Rao. 1945. (Bombay: Vora & Co., Re. 1)

Should prove of practical value to those interested in the resuscitation of India's rural life.

THE CASE FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY FOR INDIA. By M. Venkatarangaiya. 1945. (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, Rs.2/8)

A well-informed, historical and comparative study of a question of tropical interest.

ARTICLES ON INDIA IN FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Cultural

MORE ABOUT DEHRA DUN. By A. E. Foot, *The Spectator*, 14 September, 1945.

A descriptive account of the Indian Public School at Dehra Dun and an answer to the criticisms that the School is too expensive, it denationalizes the boys and breeds snobs.

Economic

POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES IN THE STATES OF SOUTHERN INDIA. By Sir William Barton, *The Asiatic Review*, October 1945.

An enthusiastic résumé of the war effort and post-war planning schemes of Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Cochin and Kolhapur. Makes a subtle attempt to alienate the States from British India and cajole them into economic co-operation with Britain.

HOW TO RAISE STANDARDS OF LIVING IN INDIA. By Dr. Parkunel J. Thomas, *The Asiatic Review*, October 1945.

Pleads for the diversion of larger number of labourers to transport, trade and services through a comprehensive plan of national development with special emphasis on public utilities. Such diversion involves fuller employment of labour and natural resources leading to a rise in living standards which will accelerate industrialization and expand export trade.

WAR-TIME DEVELOPMENTS IN THE INDIAN TEXTILE INDUSTRY.

International Labour Review, August-September 1945.

An informed and useful survey of the pre-war cotton mill industry, hand-loom industry, competition between the two, jute and other textile industries, foreign trade in textiles, war-time changes in the textile industry and its foreign trade, textile labour, and future trends in all these aspects.

Political

THE NEXT APPROACH TO INDIA'S POLITICAL QUESTION. By Sir William P. Barton, *The Fortnightly*, November 1945.

A crude propagandist attempt to discredit Indian nationalism—mendacious in facts and lopsided in argument. . . . Economic uplift trotted as his discovery.

LABOUR AND INDIA. By Sir William Barton, *The Spectator*, 2 November, 1945.

Repeats his favourite theme of economic approach to the Indian problem. After traducing the Congress according to plan, pleads, with suspicious solicitude, for the representation of the Indian States in the Central Government and separate electorates for the Depressed Classes.

THE INDIAN PROBLEM: A MOSLEM'S SUGGESTION. By Richard Frost, *Pacific Affairs*, September 1945.

A sympathetic recountal of Sir Muhammed Zafrullah Khan's suggestion at the Commonwealth Relations Conference in February 1945, that H. M. G. should give an undertaking to implement any agreed settlement within a year from the cessation of hostilities, and that, failing such a settlement within that period, H. M. G. itself would place before Parliament proposals concerning the future constitution of India designed on a footing of complete equality with the Dominions, it being understood that the solution of H. M. G. would be provisional to be replaced subsequently by an agreed alternative.

THE BRITISH IN INDIA: THEIR PRESENT AND THEIR FUTURE.

By C. P. Lawson, *The Asiatic Review*, October 1945.

An interesting, if self-righteous, narration of the activities and achievements mainly of the non-official Britishers in India. Envisages that they will constitute the link which will bind India and Britain together.

INDIA'S WAR EFFORT. By General Sir Mosley Mayne, *The Asiatic Review*, October 1945.

A glowing account of the exploits of the Indian troops in the Middle East, North Africa, Italy and Burma and of India's industrial effort for the war.

REGIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA. By K. M. Panikkar, *Pacific Affairs*, September 1945.

A thoughtful exposition of the special importance, due to geographical configuration, of the Indian Ocean in global strategy, the central position of India in this strategic area, the different postulates on which the future security of the Indian Ocean area has to be reorganized and of the particular way in

which the peace and security of this area could be ensured within the framework of the system of world organization. Envisages a regional organization centred round India and consisting of the units of the area and the colonial powers now associated with it, working in close association with other powers having an interest in the peace and security of the area in order to organize the same therein and facilitate general development of political freedom and economic betterment through technical assistance and general co-operation of the World Council.

LABOUR'S ATTITUDE TO INDIA. By Sir Alfred Watson, *Great Britain and the East*, September 1945.

A cheap propagandist attempt to queer the pitch for the Labour Government, and calumniate the Congress Party... Offers bouquets to Amery and pats Jinnah and the Depressed Classes on the back.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROGRESS OF HYDERABAD. *Great Britain and the East*, September 1945.

A survey of the constitutional progress under the new reforms including a combination of communal and functional representation, a new Legislative Assembly with enlarged powers and Statutory Advisory Committees.

THE WAVELL PLAN. *The Round Table*, September 1945.

A factual account of the Wavell Proposals and a fairly objective explanation of the issues at and failure of the Simla Conference.

INDIA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS NOW AND IN THE FUTURE. By Sir Aubrey Metcalfe, *International Affairs*, October 1945.

WHAT NEXT IN INDIA? *The Round Table*, September 1945.

A justification of Lord Wavell's attitude at the Simla Conference. Eulogizes Amery and warns the Labour Government against yielding to the Congress and overstressing the issues of Independence in preference to partial self-government immediately.

Others

INDIAN HEALTH PROBLEMS: SOME RECENT VOLUNTARY EFFORTS.

(I) LESSONS OF THE BENGAL FAMINE. By Lt. Colonel I. M. Orr.

(II) MEDICAL MISSIONS. By Howard Somervell.

(III) THE VELLORE COLLEGE TRAINING PLAN. By J. C. McGilvray, *The Asiatic Review*, October 1945.

A factual account of the services rendered by the military and medical students during the epidemics that followed the Bengal famine, a plea for setting up Christian medical colleges—Christian in its methods and teaching—as a debt which Britain owes to India; and a detailed description of the Vellore College training scheme in this context.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE PHILIPPINES

By I. H. BAQAI

I. GENERAL

The most outstanding book on the Philippines published recently (1942) is of course Joseph Ralston Hayden's *The Philippines. A Study in National Development* (Macmillan). It gives a very good account of the development of the various political institutions in the Philippines since 1898 and a very good analysis of their working since the inauguration of the Commonwealth in 1935. It includes important notes to every chapter which contain a mine of bibliographical information as well.

Felix M. Keesing's book, *The Philippines: A Nation in the making* is a short historical account and can serve as an excellent text book besides giving a good introduction to the history of the Philippines.

For the Pre-Commonwealth period and supplementing the above two there is W. Cameron Forbes' reliable work, *The Philippine Islands* in two volumes. It gives a good estimate of American rule in the Philippines from 1898-1928. The two-volume edition of 1928 has been condensed this year into a single volume of 412 pages and is published by the Harvard University Press.

Another such general work is Dean C. Worcester's *The Philippines, Past and Present*. It gives a balanced account of the islands and their administration up to 1913. Moorfield Storey and Marciel Lichauco have also given the story of American occupation in *The Conquest of the Philippines by the United States 1898-1925* (Putman's Sons, New York 1926).

2. GEOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

For a geographical survey of the Philippines the volume edited by W. H. Hass in 'The American Empire,' Chicago: University of Chicago Press (1940) is extremely useful. Valuable information is also contained in articles by Alden Cutshall: *THE PHILIPPINES ISLANDS AND THEIR PEOPLE*, *Journal of Geography*, XLI (1942); Warren D. Smith: "THE PHILIPPINES QUESTION," *Economic Geography*, IX (1933). *Fortune* also published an article with excellent pictures in its issue for June, 1940, XXI. *The Philippine Islands: A Commercial Survey*, (U. S. Department of Commerce, 1927) by O. M. Butler is useful for commercial geography.

For social background F. C. Lauback's *The People of the Philippines* (George H. Doran, New York, 1925); A. L. Kroeber's *Peoples of the Philippines*; Frederic H. Sawyer's *The Inhabitants of the Philippines*, (Scribners, 1900); James A. Le Roy's *Philippine Life in Town and Country*, (Putman's Sons, 1905); and *Philippine Social Life and Progress* (Ginn & Co. 1940) by Conrado Benites and others are useful studies of social growth in the Philippines. N. Salceby's studies in the Moro History and Law is standard authority on the Moros. *Swish of the Kris*—The story of the Moros—by Vic Hurley is an interesting account, though superficial of the Moros. (Philippine Muslims called Moros by the Spaniard after the Moors in Spain). *The Filipino Way of Life* by Camilo Osias (Ginn & Co.) is more useful to understand the cultural development of the Filipino and the synthesis of the various foreign cultures in their islands. Osias became Minister of Education under the Japanese-sponsored Philippine Republic and his speeches then were invariably at variance from the liberal and democratic ideals preached in his book, *The Filipino Way of Life*, Volume II of the Census of the Philippines 1939 (Commission of the Census, Commonwealth of the Philippines, Manila, 1941) also contains valuable information about the social background of the Philippines.

3. ECONOMIC

A—General. The following are useful:—

- (i) A survey of economic conditions in the Philippine islands, submitted to the Governor General by Lyman P. Hammond, Vice-President, Electric Bond and Share Company of New York, Manila 1928.

- (ii) Principles of Economics applied to the Philippines—Boston 1932.
- (iii) Economy and Trade of the Philippines, in 2 volumes. January-August 1940, by Joseph E. Jacobs and J. Bartlett Richards, Department of State.
- (iv) Report of the Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs, May 1938; an excellent survey of Philippine economic life specially of its commerce and the problems that the Philippines would have to face after her independence.
- (v) Annual Reports of the President of the Philippines to the President of the United States, 1935-1939, (Washington 1938-1940).

B—*Natural Resources*: Besides the above the following will be useful:—

- (i) Census of the Philippines, 1939, Vol. IV. It gives reports for forestry, transportation, fisheries, mines, electric light and power companies.
- (ii) Year book of Philippine Statistics, 1940. Bureau of the Census and Statistics, Manila.
- (iii) Philippine Mining Yearbook for 1940, published by the Chamber of Mines of the Philippines, Manila.
- (iv) Review of Mining Activities in the Philippines during 1940 by the Chamber of Mines of the Philippines, Manila.
- (v) An article by Alden Cutshall in the *Scientific Monthly*, LIV (1942) pages 295-302 on the Mineral Resources of the Philippines.
- (vi) Semi-annual Report of the Director of Forestry of the Philippines for the period from 1 January to 30 June 1930.

C—*Agriculture*

- (i) A handbook of Philippine Agriculture 1939, (College of Agriculture, University of the Philippines), Manila.
- (ii) The Climate of the Philippines 1939 (Commonwealth of the Philippines, Dept. of Agriculture), Manila.
- (iii) Philippine Agriculture, the problem of adjustment. Report of the U. S. Agricultural Commissioner, Shanghai.
- (iv) Preliminary Report on Agricultural Tendencies in the Philippines by L. Owen Dawson (special report No. 7 of the U. S. Agricultural Commissioner at Shanghai, 18 September 1936).
- (v) Chapter XV of Hayden's *The Philippines* also discusses some aspect of the agrarian problem.
- (vi) An article in the *Geographical Review*, Vol. 24, 1934 by Theodore Roosevelt on LAND PROBLEMS IN PUERTO RICO AND THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.
- (vii) Another by Robert Pendleton, 'LAND UTILIZATION AND AGRICULTURE OF MINDANAO, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.' The Geog. Rev. Vol. 32, No. 2, 1942.
- (viii) Farm Crops of the Philippines by N. Sadorra, (Department of Public Instruction, Bureau of Education), Manila.
- (ix) The Coconut Industry in the Philippines. (Commonwealth of the Philippines, Dept. of Agriculture), Manila, 1939.
- (x) Cooke, F. C. The Coconut Industry of the Philippine Islands. (Department of Agriculture, Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, General Series, No. 23, 1936).
- (xi) Lynsky, Myer, Sugar Economics, Statistics and Documents, United States Cane Sugar Refiners' Association, New York, 1938.
- (xii) Mayo, E. W., Editor, Sugar Reference Book and Directory, Vol. 10, 1941.
- (xiii) Buencamino, Victor. Solving the Rice Problem. The National Rice and Corn Corporation, 1937.
- (xiv) Velmonte, Jose E. Farm Tenancy Problems of Rice Production in the Philippines.

Bulletin of the National Research Council in the Philippines No. 17, September 1938.

- (xv) The Rice Industry in the Philippines (Commonwealth of the Philippines, Department of Agriculture & Commerce), Manila 1939.
- (xvi) Paquirigon, Domingo and Primitivo, Tugada. Tobacco in the Philippines. (Department of Agriculture and Commerce. Popular Bulletin No. 15, 1940).
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- (xix) Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs Report Vol. I, 1938.
- (xx) Census of the Philippines: 1939 Vols. II and III (Commonwealth of the Philippines Bureau of the Census and Statistics), Manila, 1941.

D—Commerce, Industry and Labour

- (f) *The Philippine Islands: A Commercial Survey*, U. M. Butler, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1927.
- (ii) Annual Reports of the Governor-General of the Philippines, 1930-1935. (Washington, 1932-37).
- (iii) Annual Reports of the United States High Commissioner to the Philippines to the President and Congress of the United States, 1938-1942. (Washington, 1943).
- (iv) Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Foreign Commerce Weekly (New York) has various reports on the commerce of the Philippines.
- (v) J. P. C. P. A. Report 1938.
- (vi) *Crisis in the Philippines* by Catherine Porter 1942. Some useful account can be had about Philippine Commerce and Industry during the Commonwealth period. The book was published immediately after Japanese occupation of the Philippines.
- (vii) Industry in South-East Asia by Jack Shepherd is a most useful work on the subject. It is published by the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations.
- (viii) Annual Reports of the Court of Industrial Relations (Manila, 1936-1940).
- (ix) Annual Reports of the Secretary of Labour (Manila, 1938, 1937-1940).
- (x) Bulletin of Philippine Statistics 1938-1939.
- (xi) Journal of Philippine Statistics, 1940 (Manila, 1941).
- (xii) Yearbook of the Philippine Statistics, 1940 (Manila, 1941).
- (xiii) Labour Bulletin (Manila, 1938-1940, January-August, 1941).

COMMONWEALTH PERIOD

The Commonwealth of the Philippines was inaugurated in 1935. Hayden's book, noted above, is so far the best work on this period. It has thoroughly examined the working of the Commonwealth institutions and also the problems that it faced and the dangers that it ran. Another useful work is G. A. Malcolm's *The Commonwealth of the Philippines* (New York, 1936). Catherine Porter's *Crisis in the Philippines* is short but accurate account for the commonwealth period and early days of Japanese occupation. Carlos P. Romulo's book, *Mother America* (Garden City, New York, Doubleday Doran), Published in 1943 also brings the history of American rule in the Philippines right up to Japanese occupation and has discussed well the working of democracy in the Philippines. *Orphans of the Pacific* by P. Horn, though on the whole unsympathetic to Philippine aspirations, gives an interesting study of Manuel L. Quezon, late President of the Commonwealth and President Sergio Osmena. Marquardt's *Befor. Bataan and After* also gives useful information for the Commonwealth period. Chapter II of Part two of *Government and Nationalism in South-East Asia* (I. P. R.) describes briefly the development of nationalism and its outcome in the Commonwealth.

WAR AND THE PHILIPPINES

The second World War took over the Philippines in December 1941. Though Manila fell on 2 January organized resistance continued till May 1943. The best account of the battle of the Philippines is contained in Carlos P. Romulo's *I Saw the Fall of the Philippines*. Carlos, a newspaperman before the war, took prominent part in the battle and conducted Philippine radio, *The Voice of Freedom*. *The War moves East* by 'Strategicus' has an informative chapter on the war in the Philippines. There are other books, e.g., Marquardt's *Before Bataan and After*; H. McCoy's *Ten escape from Tojo*; John Morrill's *South from Corrigidor*; Allson Ind's *Bataan and They shall not Sleep* by Leland Stowe, which contain interesting information about war-time Philippines. But most such information is scattered in magazines and journals like *New York Times Magazine*, *Far Eastern Survey*, *Pacific Affairs*, *Asia*, *Amerasia*, *Bulletin of International News* and the like. These journals are also very valuable for information about the economic, social, and political life of the Philippines.

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CHRONICLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

INDIA, BRITAIN

- October 3, 1945** The Working Committee of the All-India Scheduled Castes' Federation, at its meeting in Poona, passed resolutions expressing opposition to the reconstruction of the Central Government and the formation of a Constitution-making body envisaged in recent proposals of His Majesty's Government to India.
- October 16, 1945** The Indian Franchise Bill providing for the inclusion in the electoral rolls in India of persons who returned from war service was passed.
- October 18, 1945** It was announced that the Government of India had ratified the Charter of the United Nations.
- October 24, 1945** An Iranian Trade Mission arrived in India on a three-month exploratory tour.
- October 28, 1945** Mr. Attlee announced in Parliament that the Government had decided to set up 'a research and experimental establishment covering all aspects of the use of atomic energy.'
- November 5, 1945** The trial of the three Officers of the Indian National Army of Subhas Chandra Bose opened in the historic Red Fort at Delhi.
- November 8, 1945** Mr. M. A. Jinnah outlined the details of an independent and sovereign Pakistan. Geographically Pakistan would include N. W. F. Province, Baluchistan, Sind, Punjab, Bengal including Calcutta and Assam. Major industries and utility services would be socialized. Politically component provinces would have autonomy, but certain vital powers as the monetary system, national defence etc. would remain vested in the Central Government.
- November 19, 1945** Mr. Herbert Morrison announced in the Commons that, in addition to the nationalization of coal mining, the British Labour Government proposed within the life of the present Parliament to bring under national ownership railways, canals, long-distance road haulage services, the electricity-supply industry and the gas industry.
- December 4, 1945** The Secretary of State for India announced that a British Parliamentary delegation would leave for India as soon as possible to meet leading Indian political personalities and acquaint themselves with their views at first hand; and that His Majesty's Government regarded the setting up of a constitution-making body by which Indians would decide their own future as a matter of the greatest urgency.
- December 6, 1945** Churchill's censure motion on Labour Government's domestic policy was defeated by 381 votes to 197.
- December 8, 1945** The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution deputing Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Burma and Malaya to inquire into the conditions of Indians there and arrange for their defence and other help.
- December 10, 1945** Addressing the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta, Lord Wavell justified the use of Indian troops in Indonesia and declared that 'Quit India' would not act as the magic 'Sesame' to the Indian political tangle and stressed the necessity for cordial atmosphere.
- December 11, 1945** The Congress Working Committee passed resolutions reiterating the Congress creed of non-violence, explaining the Congress attitude towards the Indian National Army, condemning Anglo-American policy in South-East Asia countries and deciding to send Medical Missions

to Burma and Malaya. It also issued the Election Manifesto.

December 13, 1945 Mr. Herbert Morrison announced in the Commons that the Parliamentary delegation to India would go as representative of Parliament and would include members of both the Lords and Commons. The House of Commons passed by 345 votes to 98 the Government motion approving the Anglo-American Loan Agreement.

December 18, 1945 The personnel of the parliamentary delegation to India was announced. It includes Mrs. M. Wallhead Nichol, Mr. R. Richards, Mr. R. W. Sorensen, Major. W. Wyatt and Mr. A. G. Bottomley (Labour) and Mr. Godfrey Nicholson and Brigadier A. R. W. Low (Conservative) and Mr. Hopkin Morris (Liberal) and Lord Munster and Lord Chorley from the House of Lords.

The Lords approved by 90 votes to 8 the Government motion accepting the Anglo-American Loan Agreement.

December 21, 1945 Mr. R. R. Saxena was appointed India's chief representative to the delegation of the Far Eastern Advisory Commission who would be leaving for Tokyo on 26 December 1945.

December 24, 1945 By an Ordinance promulgated by the Governor-General, the Government of India decided to adhere to the Bretton Woods Agreement and authorized the Indian Agent-General in Wa-

shington to sign on behalf of India on 27 December 1945.

December 25, 1945 The Bhoré Committee recommendations on public health were published. They include a comprehensive ten-year plan costing about Rs.1,000 crores by way of capital and recurring expenditure. They aim at a target of one doctor for every two thousand citizens while today there is one doctor for every 6,800 people. India will have 185,000 doctors as against the present 47,500.

December 26, 1945 The sixth Conference of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics opened in Benares under the presidentship of Sir Manilal B. Nanavati who dealt with the question of solving the problem of rural poverty in his presidential address.

December 27, 1945 The final report of the Sapru Conciliation Committee on India's constitutional reforms was released for publication. The Committee recommended a single union of India, denial of the right of secession to provinces and States, effective safeguards for minorities including fundamental rights and minority commissions, abolition of separate communal electorates, parity of representation in Central Legislature and Executive between Muslims and Hindus other than Scheduled Castes, Indianization of the Army and transfer of Paramountcy to the Federal Government.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA, AUSTRALIA & NEW ZEALAND

October 1, 1945 The French authorities and the leaders of the Annamite independence movement, met in Saigon and agreed on a 'Cease-fire.' The Government of the Netherlands announced that they had refused to open discussions with Dr. Soekarno.

October 3, 1945 Annamite nationalist leaders met French representatives for a conference on the

future status of Indo-China in Saigon.

October 7, 1945 Dr. Soekarno, President of the Nationalist Indonesian Government in Batavia, invited Pandit Nehru along with Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Dr. Evatt and Major-General Romulo to visit Java and inspect for themselves the conditions prevailing there.

October 9, 1945 Military Administration ended in Rangoon and made way for the advent of the Civil Government.

The Report of the Soulbury Commission on Ceylon constitutional reforms was released for publication in Colombo.

October 10, 1945 British Occupying forces landed in the Andamans without incident after the Japanese occupation lasting more than three years.

The Colonial Secretary outlined in the House of Commons the proposal for a constitutional union of Malaya and institution of Malayan citizenship. The Malayan Union would consist of nine States in the Malay Peninsula and the two British Settlements, Penang and Malacca. Singapore would be a separate colony. For these purposes, fresh agreements would be negotiated with the several Malay rulers which would enable His Majesty's Government to exercise full jurisdiction in Malayan States and constitute a Malayan Union by an Order-in-Council. Sir Harold Mac Michael was appointed to visit Malaya as a special representative of His Majesty's Government to arrange agreements with the Malay Rulers.

October 15, 1945 The Under-Secretary for India announced in the Commons that the British Government had agreed to make financial advances to the Government of Burma for a period of two years subject to certain safeguards which the Burma Government had accepted. Most of these advances would be used to purchase capital equipment and consumer goods. The Governor-General of the Netherlands East Indies, Jonkheer van Starkenbergh resigned, because of the Government's attitude to the Indonesian nationalists in Java.

October 19, 1945 The Bangkok Radio announced that the Siamese National Assembly would be dis-

solved immediately and a new Assembly would be elected within 90 days.

October 23, 1945 The Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League of Burma stated that it would accept the Governor's invitation to help in forming the Executive Council provided it was allowed to nominate 11 out of the 15 Members including the Home Minister and to distribute the portfolios at its discretion.

October 24, 1945 Dr. Sockarno, Indonesian leader, told the press that his 'Government' was in complete control of the public services and that the administration was running smoothly. In a broadcast he invited the U. S. A., the U. S. S. R. and China to intervene on behalf of the Nationalists.

October 29, 1945 It was announced that the Burma Governor's discussions with the Freedom League had broken down.

October 30, 1945 The Leader of the Burmese Nationalists, Mr. Aung San suggested the immediate calling of an 'Asiatic Potsdam Conference' of the subject peoples of Asia to plan a united campaign to achieve freedom within the shortest possible time.

October 31, 1945 The British Government's White Paper on the Soulbury Commission's proposals relating to Ceylon was issued accepting them as a 'workable basis for progress.'

November 3, 1945 The members of the new Executive Council of the Governor of Burma were sworn in. In a statement of policy issued to the Press, the Burmese members explained that their immediate tasks were rehabilitating the war-ravaged country and preparing the country for a free election.

November 4, 1945 The French authorities were reported to have decided to grant internal autonomy to Cambodia (Indo-China).

- November 6, 1945** The Netherlands Indies Government outlined a reform scheme for Indonesia involving recognition of nationalist aspirations, reconstruction of the Central Government on democratic lines with an Indonesian majority, the abolition of racial discrimination in cultural, economic and social affairs and a Round Table Conference to consider these proposals.
- November 7, 1945** Dr. Soekarno rejected the Dutch Reforms offer providing for an Indonesian Partnership within the Netherlands Empire. Dr. Soebardjo, the deputy of Dr. Soekarno, proposed a plebiscite under United Nations' supervision.
- November 8, 1945** Lieut.-General Sir Bernard C. Freyberg, Commander of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, was appointed Governor-General of New Zealand.
- November 9, 1945** By an overwhelming majority of fifty-one to three, the Ceylon State Council accepted the White Paper proposals of His Majesty's Government for the constitution of Ceylon. Two Indian members were among the three dissentients.
- November 13, 1945** Dr. Soekarno accepted the formation of a new Cabinet headed by Mr. Sultan Sharir, the Dutch-educated Chairman of the 'Central National Committee.' Mr. Sharir declared that the policy of his Government would be one of co-operation with the British and the Dutch wherever a common ground was found.
- November 19, 1945** The British Colonial Secretary announced the intention of His Majesty's Government to restore full civil government in Hongkong.
- November 25, 1945** The High Commissioner for French Indo-China announced that the leaders of the Annamite Nationalist Party, Viet-Minh, would not be considered war criminals and invited them personally for talks.
- November 27, 1945** The Convention of Indonesian Nationalist leaders at Batavia, while expressing confidence in Sharir's Cabinet, instructed the Government to negotiate with the Allies on the basis that a Committee of the army chiefs of America, Australia, China and Russia would be formed to supervise occupation and that a United Nations Committee would supervise evacuation of the Dutch and the Japanese.
- December 1, 1945** The Burma Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League decided to send a delegation to Britain to impress on the authorities the need for holding elections and introducing constitutional reforms at the earliest moment.
- December 2, 1945** Mr. U. Tin Tut, Reconstruction Adviser to the Burma Government, announced that a new draft Indo-Burma Immigration Agreement had been drawn up following prolonged discussions at New Delhi since 1943.
- December 5, 1945** It was learned that the British Government had presented a series of demands to Siam including the right to negotiate a territorial treaty with France on behalf of Siam and demanding that India should be given a voice in drawing up the final treaty.
- December 18, 1945** A Malayan Democratic Union was formed with the object of achieving self-government within the British Commonwealth.
- December 20, 1945** A statement by the U. S. State department expressed 'increasing concern' over the Indonesian situation and voiced the hope that all the parties would renew attempts to reach an agreement.
- December 22, 1945** U. S. announced the withdrawal of its request that the signing of the agreement between Britain and Siam should be deferred.

December 27, 1945 Talks between British and Dutch Ministers on the

Indonesian question opened in London.

THE FAR EAST

October 4, 1945 General MacArthur issued an order abolishing the secret police and all agencies established to limit freedom of thought, religion, speech and assembly.

October 5, 1945 Prince Higashi Kuni, the Japanese Prime Minister and his Cabinet resigned. The resignation was the result of General MacArthur ousting the Home Minister.

October 6, 1945 Baron Shidehara was appointed Prime Minister of Japan by an Imperial Edict. As Japanese Foreign Minister from 1924-27 and again from 1927-31, he pursued a policy of friendship with Britain, the U. S. A., China and Russia and opposed Japan's aggressive policy in Manchuria.

October 11, 1945 In answer to the request from *Mainichi* and other Japanese newspapers for his views on the subject of how Japan might regain the respect and goodwill of the civilized world, Pandit Nehru advised Japan to 'reject militarism and imperialism' and to join hands with other Asiatic nations in 'furtherance of Asiatic freedom and co-operation within the larger framework of world peace.'

General MacArthur ordered the Government of Japan to effect as soon as possible the enfranchisement of women.

October 15, 1945 It was announced that a new, independent government backed by Outer Mongols and Russians had been created in Inner Mongolia and that Prince Payintailai, the Buddhistic here-

ditary Chieftain elected President of the new Government by the 'Liberation' Committee of United Mongol Peoples' which was organized by the Outer Mongols and Russians early in September 1945.

December 15, 1945 In a statement on U. S. Policy towards China, Truman justified American intervention in the interest of Chinese unity and emphasized that U. S. A. would continue to recognize Chiang's Government as the only legal government in China. He also called for immediate cessation of hostilities between the Chungking forces and the Communists and urged the summoning of a national conference of representatives of all China's major political parties to seek early solution of the present internal strife.

December 17, 1945 It was announced that China and Russia had agreed on specific measures for China's assumption of the Soviet-controlled administration of Manchuria.

December 22, 1945 It was announced that General MacArthur had completed the framework of the 'New Japan' and that there would be no more Allied directives. Admiral Sir Bruce Fraser, the Commander-in-Chief announced that Hongkong would be built up to the pre-war strength as a naval base and advance fleet headquarters as it would be more convenient than Singapore for co-operation with the American Navy and for activities in Japan where British, Indian and Australian troops would be part of the occupation forces with Kure as the port.

CHRONICLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS THE NEAR EAST AND MIDDLE EAST

- October 1, 1945** The Syrian Cabinet was reconstructed under the Premiership of Saladullah Al Jabri, Premier in 1943.
- October 16, 1945** The Egyptian Senate passed a resolution demanding 'urgent measures to achieve Egyptian national aims—primarily the evacuation of British troops.' The other aim related to the Union of the Sudan with Egypt.
- October 18, 1945** President Truman confirmed that he had asked the British Prime Minister to allow 1,00,000 Jews into Palestine and that he considered his request reasonable.
- October 20, 1945** The Legations of Egypt, Syria, the Lebanon and Iraq published a joint Note (submitted to the Secretary of State on October 12) urging that 'no change should take place in the status of Palestine without the consent of the Arabs.'
- October 22, 1945** The Persian Prime Minister, M. Mushin Sadr resigned.
- November 3, 1945** A new Persian Government was formed with M. Ebrahim Hakimi as Premier.
- November 8, 1945** Lieut.-General Sir Alan Cunningham was appointed Palestine High Commissioner in succession to Field-Marshal Gort.
- November 12, 1945** The Council of the Arab League unanimously approved of a common policy on Palestine.
Opening the Egyptian Parliament, King Farouk urged the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egypt, claimed Sudan for his country and supported the demand for the independence of Libya.
- November 13, 1945** Ernest Bevin announced the establishment, with U. S. co-operation, of a joint Anglo-American Committee of enquiry to examine the whole question of European Jewry and review the Palestine problem in the light of its findings. The Committee was to make recommendations to the British and American Governments for both interim and permanent solutions.
- November 19, 1945** An open separatist movement broke out in Azerbaijan province in Northern Persia, the Azerbaijanians demanding union of Persian Azerbaijan with the Soviet Republic.
Azerbaijans who speak Turkish are now divided between the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan in which about, 3,000,000 of them live and the north-western province of the same name in Persia where there are about 1,000,000.
- November 25, 1945** The National Congress of Azerbaijan formed in Tabriz on 20 November 45 of delegates from all parts of Azerbaijan issued a statement demanding Azerbaijan autonomy within the framework of the Persian State.
- November 26, 1945** The United States proposed to the Russian and British Governments that all foreign troops should withdraw from Persia by 1 January 45.
- December 4, 1945** The U. S. State Department announced that Russia had rejected the American request that all Allied troops be withdrawn from Iran by 1 January 45.
- December 13, 1945** Franco-British agreements on Syria, the Lebanon and the Near East were signed in London providing joint consultation and agreement on conditions of regrouping and evacuating British and French troops from Syria and closest alignment of French and British policy in the Near East with the object of permanently eliminating all differences of policy calculated to harm British or French interests.
- December 12, 1945** The Council of the Pan-Arab League voted admission of Palestine into the League with full voting rights and called a meeting of the representa-

tives of all Arab States for 5 January 46 in Cairo to discuss the Arab boycott of Zionists' products from Palestine.

December 16, 1945 It was announced that Free Azerbaijan Cabinet was formed by Mr. Jafar Pishevani, President of the newly formed provisional Government.

December 21, 1945 Orders were

issued to all provincial Governors in Iran (except Azerbaijan) to hold elections to provincial Councils in accordance with the Iranian Constitution.

December 22, 1945 Emir Abdullah, ruler of Transjordan, proposed a plan for the federation of Syria, the Lebanon, Palestine and Transjordan.

THE BRITISH DOMINIONS AND COLONIES

[OTHER THAN IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA]

October 3, 1945 A Deputation of the Natal Indian Congress met Mr. C. F. Clarkson, Minister of the Interior, and expressed opposition to certain sections of the Natal Housing Ordinance.

October 19, 1945 It was announced at Pretoria that the Labour Party would be withdrawing from the South African Coalition Government at the end of October 45. The present Coalition comprised

Smuts' United Party, the Labour Party and the Dominion Party.

October 28, 1945 It was officially announced that Major Gideon Brand Vanzyl was appointed as Governor-General of the Union of South Africa. He would be the first South African-born Governor-General of the Union.

November 21, 1945 The Dominion Party Congress decided to leave the Coalition Government of Smuts.

AMERICA

October 10, 1945 The U. S. House of Representatives passed the Indian Immigration Bill authorizing an annual immigration of 100 Indians and the naturalization of some 4,000 Indians already living in the U. S. A.

October 12, 1945 All Ministers of General Farrell's Government resigned in Argentina. It was announced that former vice-President and War Minister, Col. Peron, who resigned earlier, had been arrested.

October 29, 1945 President Vargas of Brazil resigned 'in order to avoid greater unrest from political mo-

tives' and Justice Jose Linhares of the Supreme Court assumed the Presidency.

November 27, 1945 Major-General Patrick Hurley announced his resignation as U. S. Ambassador in China. In a formal statement he charged the United States with furnishing Lend-Lease supplies and bolstering imperialism and communism in the Far East.

December 2, 1945 Brazilians went to the polls to elect a President and a bicameral Federal Congress. They had not voted for a chief executive since 1938.

EUROPE

October 7, 1945 The Prime Minister of Portugal announced that political parties would be allowed to be formed and function, provided their programmes remained within the framework of the regime.

October 9, 1945 The Government of Greece resigned.

October 11, 1945 Yugoslavia went to polls for elections to the Constituent Assembly. This was the first time that Yugoslav women had been allowed to vote. Marshal Tito's National Liberation Front obtained a clear victory.

October 13, 1945 General de Gaulle

was elected head of the French Government by 555 votes with one abstention who was a Moroccan deputy.

October 17, 1945 Laval of France was executed.

The Belgian Chamber rejected a proposal to conduct a referendum on the return of King Leopold.

October 18, 1945 Russia signed a credit agreement with the U. S. A. for 350 million to 400 million dollars worth of Lend-Lease goods of which delivery was halted on V-J day.

Marshal Tito presiding, the Yugoslavian Cabinet decided to summon the Presidium of the Provisional Parliament on 26 October 45. Elections were fixed for 11 November 45. The Opposition decided not to take part in these elections for they felt that they had been prevented from competing on equal terms with the Peoples' Front.

The Government of Czechoslovakia decreed the nationalization of the mines, natural resources and big iron and steel enterprises, banking, insurance and some large agricultural undertakings.

October 20, 1945 Renner's Provisional Government was officially recognized by the four Powers on the Allied Council for Austria.

October 21, 1945 France went to the Polls.

October 22, 1945 The Election results of France (excluding North Africa) were announced: Communists 142; Socialists 133; M. R. P. 140; Radical Socialists 19; M. Marin's Right Wing Party 26; *Alliance Democratique* 10; *Entente Republicaine* 12 and Independents 24.

To the two questions referred to the electorate (See *India Quarterly* vol. I, p. 402.) 'Yes' by 15,094,660 and 'No' by 586,039, to the first; and 'Yes' by 10,487,675 and 'No' by 5,170,094 to the second.

October 25, 1945 France and Czechoslovakia signed an economic agree-

ment for several million dollars and covering a six month period. French exports would include phosphates, wines, and bauxite and would in return receive wood, coke, malt and seeds.

October 27, 1945 The Premier of Belgium announced that the Bank of Belgium was to be nationalized.

November 1, 1945 A new Greek Government was formed by Panayotis Kanellopoulos on an assignment from the Regent Damaskinos bringing to an end a prolonged Cabinet crisis.

November 6, 1945 The French Constituent Assembly held its first meeting.

November 20, 1945 The Greek Cabinet headed by M. Panayotis Kanellopoulos resigned after less than three weeks in office.

M. Themistocles Sophoulis, the 85 year old Liberal Leader, formed a Cabinet of National Unity after the resignation of M. Kanellopoulos.

November 21, 1945 General de Gaulle announced his new Cabinet. The various ministries were distributed equitably, both as regards number and importance, between the three big parties. There are five communists in all in the new Cabinet, one of them as Minister of Armaments. The General is both Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence.

November 22, 1945 The French Constituent Assembly adopted by 304 votes to 242 a motion put forward by the Socialists for the appointment of a Commission of 42 members to study and draft the text of a new constitution.

November 23, 1945 The Liberal members of Signor Ferruccio Parri's Italian six-Party Cabinet resigned.

November 29, 1945 The Yugoslav Constituent Assembly decided to proclaim Yugoslavia a republic and deprive King Peter and members of the Karageorgevich family of all 'vested' rights.

December 9, 1945 Signor de Gasperi formed a new Italian Govern-

ment consisting of representatives of all the six former government parties.

December 15, 1945 General de Gaulle invited Britain and U. S. A. to join France in consultations on relations with Gen. Franco's Spain.

December 20, 1945 Dr. Renner, former Chancellor of Austria, was elected President of the Austrian Republic.

December 21, 1945 The British Military Government took possession of the Ruhr coal mines in the British Zone of occupation.

December 22, 1945 Britain announced her recognition of the

setting up of a Federal Peoples' Republic in Yugoslavia and the overthrow of monarchy.

December 25, 1945 The French Franc was fixed at a new rate of 480 francs to a pound sterling (119.1 to a dollar).

The Hungarian Government issued a decree expelling from Germany all German-speaking residents constituting about half a million people.

December 26, 1945 It was stated in Paris that both Britain and U. S. had agreed to hold a Three-Power meeting with France to discuss relations with General Franco.

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

October 10, 1945 Mr. Byrnes, U. S. Secretary of State, disclosed that the Big Three Powers had agreed during the Potsdam talks to approach the Turkish Government separately with a view to revision of the Montreux Convention and internationalization of the Dardanelles.

October 15, 1945 The Pan-African Congress opened in Manchester and was attended by delegates representing political, economic and social organizations among most of the coloured races. India was cited as an example in a discussion on the issue of non-violence in the struggle of the West African people for freedom.

October 16, 1945 The charter of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization was signed in Quebec by 30 nations.

October 18, 1945 The United Nations Executive Committee voted down Russian opposition and recommended the establishment of a temporary trusteeship committee to handle the territory to be stripped from the enemy.

October 25, 1945 The United Nations Organization was officially brought into existence at 3-17 A. M. (I. S. T.) as the U. S. Secretary of State, Mr. Byrnes, signed the Protocol of the deposit of

ratifications.

October 27, 1945 The Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations completed its work.

October 28, 1945 Sir John Boyd Orr, was appointed Director-General of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization.

November 7, 1945 Mr. J. F. Byrnes announced the U. S. proposals for revision of the Montreux Convention on the Dardanelles on the basis of opening the Straits to merchant vessels of all nations at all times, permitting the transit to warships of Black Sea Powers at all times, denying passage for warships to non-Black Sea Powers except for limited tonnage arrangements of peace-time and eliminating Japan as a signatory.

November 15, 1945 Agreement was reached on the control of the Atom bomb between Truman, Attlee and Mackenzie King.

November 27, 1945 Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Indian delegate, was elected Chairman of Committee III (on the establishment of the Economic and Social Council) of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations Organization which began its work at London on 23 November.

December 5, 1945 The Coal Mining Conference convened by the I. L. O. opened in London. The Indian delegation condemned the exclusion of other Asiatic countries from the Conference and the employment of women in Indian coal mines. They urged that the social and economic conditions of Indian miners should be brought in line with those of miners of advanced countries.

December 6, 1945 An Anglo-American loan agreement was signed at Washington. U. S. agreed to lend Britain 4,400,000,000 dollars (Rs. 1466 crores)—3,750,000,000 dollars (Rs. 1250 crores) as 'line of credit for trading purposes, and 650,000,000 dollars (Rs. 216 crores) as final settlement for lend-lease goods now in U. K.

December 7, 1945 The Turkish Prime Minister declared that Turkey was prepared to accept in principle the U. S. plan for revision of the Montreux Convention on control of the Dardanelles as a basis for discussion.

December 13, 1945 The Inland Transport Conference convened by the I. L. O. opened in London. Indian delegates pressed the need for rehabilitating transport service in Asiatic countries before standards of living could be raised and suggested that war transport suitable for civilian use should be handed over to help rebuild transport facilities in countries which had suffered during the war. They demanded a living wage for the Indian transport workers and a 42 hour week.

December 16, 1945 The meeting of the Big Three Foreign Ministers began in Moscow.

December 20, 1945 The Paris Reparations Conference ended. The Conference had set up an Inter-Allied Reparations agency to allocate reparations to the various countries and see to their distribution. India figured eighth among the eighteen countries on the list.

America and Britain secured the first plans each receiving 28 per cent while India's share was basic two per cent and plant equipment and ships 2.9 per cent.

Mr. H. V. R. Iyengar, Mr. B. K. Nehru and E. Radbone were the Indian delegates.

December 27, 1945 The Big Three Foreign Ministers' Conference ended in Moscow. It agreed on the establishment of a United Nations Commission for the control of Atomic energy and re-organization of the present system of control of Japan by the establishment of a Far Eastern Commission to replan the Far East Advisory Commission and the setting up of an Allied Control Council in Tokyo; on arrangements to facilitate recognition of the Rumanian and Bulgarian Governments by U. S. and Britain and to establish Korea as an independent State; on Russo-American realization of the desirability of withdrawing their forces from China at the earliest possible moment consistent with the discharge of their obligations and responsibilities; and on the need for a unified and democratic China under the National Government, for broad participation by democratic elements in all branches of the National Government and for the cessation of civil strife.

December 29, 1945 A Five-Year Franco-Soviet Commercial Agreement was signed including a most favoured nation clause and providing for the establishment of mutual trade Commissions in Moscow and Paris.

December 30, 1945 It was disclosed that the negotiations between Italy and Egypt for resumption of diplomatic and trade relations between them had broken down after three months talks due to Italian refusal to give up their claim to the question of measures which Egyptian Custodians of enemy alien property took during the war.

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THE INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK*

By H. N. BRAILSFORD

I WISH, Mr. Chairman, that on this occasion you had indulged in some levity--as you tell us your custom is--because I am afraid it is a very serious, indeed painful, subject you have set me. I warn you from the start that if I have to talk on the International Outlook, there is nothing very happy to say about it, still less anything amusing.

I have been in India for less than a week--and already I find myself recalling with difficulty the Europe I left behind me--its jungle of rival forces, the misery of its semi-starving populations, its uncertainty about the future. So I had better begin by reminding myself, first of all, and then you, what kind of world Europe is in these post-war months and years. It has gone through an experience so scalding that it must be difficult for you to realize what it has meant to Europeans. I doubt if men realize it even in England, which is in some ways much better off than the Continent, because we, at any rate, are not starving. Nonetheless, this long experience of six years of war, with all the nervous strain of the bombardment of London, has left behind it a people rather exhausted and not altogether normal in its reactions to the world about it. If that is our state of mind in England, where we escaped invasion and were never under the Nazi yoke, I ask you to imagine the condition of the Continent of Europe. It is easy to think of it as a map. But we must try to visualize the millions of human beings who have all passed through an experience which might have turned the strongest and healthiest man into a neurotic. There they are, still in the hour of victory, counting the chances that a reasonable proportion of their children will survive without rickets, or one or other of the diseases of malnutrition which are already rife. Statistics are terrifying in the prediction they convey that the next generation of Europeans cannot be in health or physique, or even of mental development, the equal of its fathers. There we are, in this plainly abnormal case, faced with problems of world reconstruction that would defy a healthy giant.

The War! What has it meant? What was it about? I am not going to give you any of the conventional answers. Nearly all modern wars, if you come to analyse them, would turn out to be attempts to unify separated territories and to bring a larger planable area under a certain flag which, of course, represents a certain economic structure. That would be true, I think, of nearly all the wars of modern times, but certainly it was true of this war. At last we have come to the stage where the area which has to be unified is no longer a national territory, or even a continent, but the world itself. That, I think, we all knew long before the war was over, was the real issue between the United Nations on the one hand, and the Totalitarian Powers on the other. I do not mean to minimize the ideological issues involved, or to say that one is subordinate to the other. The question is, who is going to unify

* An Address delivered to the Bombay Branch of the Indian Council of World Affairs on 22nd January, 1946, Sir H. P. Mody, Presiding.

the world, and when he does it, under what ideas will its population be regimented? Shall they be Fascist or Nazi ideas, or Russian or Communist ideas, or shall they be American capitalistic ideas, or something betwixt and between, which you might describe as Reformist Socialism?

But I want to look first of all at the issue of power. Up to the last world war, if you carry your mind back to 1914, there were still eight Great Powers in existence. With eight Great Powers in existence, a certain balance is possible. The idea of a concert—we used to talk of the old ‘Concert of Europe’—is not an unreasonable bit of diplomatic technique. If one of the eight Powers begins to threaten the rest, theoretically at least, there should be a balance of power so that the seven could discipline the offender without much trouble. You may remind me that the picture of the world was not so very happy on the eve of 1914, but nonetheless, the concert had played its part through several generations. Now what has happened? As a result of this war we are reduced to three Great Powers. Technically, no doubt, France and China also enjoy some of the privileges of the Great Powers. Don’t misunderstand me, I mean no discourtesy to either of those great civilizations, but in the brutal, modern, realistic sense of the world they are not Great Powers. ‘Power’ is one of the most significant words in the vocabulary of politics. Why do we speak always not of Governments, nor of peoples, but of ‘Powers’? This is not an English peculiarity. We use the same word in French or German. The word is significant in this respect. It serves to remind us every time we use it, that perhaps the only aspect that matters in these crude questions of world politics is the military ability of a people, or the Government that heads it, to impose its will by armed power upon its neighbours, and that in turn, has come in the modern world to rest upon the economic potential of the State in question. It amounts really to this, I think, that independence in the modern world has come to be a conception so thin, so purely juridical, that we have got to remind ourselves every time we use it, of its inapplicability. Independence is really what a mathematician might call a ‘function’ of the economic potential. In other words, if you have an industry which is capable of mass-producing tanks and bombing planes in a steady sweep from your mills, then, given a certain amount of man-power that will be obedient and disciplined, you may hope to be a Great Power and not otherwise. Otherwise the only fate for you in this modern world, is to become a satellite of a Great Power, to group yourself under its wing, and hope if you are sufficiently subservient to it in world affairs, that it will permit you to manage your own domestic affairs at home pretty much as you choose.

May I assume that we all agree on this that history has brought us to a stage in which the world must be unified. It is not merely that in fact this war was fought to decide whether Hitler should unify it under the Swastika. Actually, the more we examine our economic and political problems, the more we are driven to the necessity for a single World Government. Its creation may come about in one of two ways. We may be moving into the American Century. We may be destined to see the triumph of Communism. But it is enough to say that one of the two possible ways in which the world

can be unified is by the triumph of a single Power. It must have abundant man-power, and enormous economic resources, and will succeed, with or without war (but probably with war) in unifying the world under its own leadership. 'Leadership' I use deliberately as a loose term. It may mean a friendly use of influence or, of course, it may mean a brutal dictation, as it would have meant if Hitler had succeeded in unifying the world. That, then, is one possibility that a single Power may achieve this position of leadership.

The other possibility is (what shall I call it?), the federal or republican solution. All of us, great peoples and small, (peoples and not Powers) may come together, discarding the fact of power, and form a Federal World Republic, over which no one Power could dominate. You may say that we are far enough from either of these solutions. I am not so sure. But at any rate it is as well to look at the trend of events, and I think that history is hurrying us towards one or other of those alternatives. Of this I am quite sure, that I can imagine a fairly peaceful world with eight Great Powers; a fairly peaceful world dominated by one Great Power; but I can think of no constellation so uncomfortable as a world dominated by three Great Powers. The balance is too precarious.

You may ask me 'Well, coming from Europe what do you see as the line of change or the direction of movement?' I wish I could answer with any confidence. I see what all of us see at the first glance, that one part of Europe has already been unified as a Russian zone or sphere of influence. The whole of the eastern end of Europe has been quite skilfully divided by a military and strategic line, from Trieste at the head of the Adriatic up to the once German port of Stettin on the Baltic. It is actually the shortest line that could have been chosen for bisecting Europe, and to that extent the most easily defensible. Behind that line, which Mr. Churchill has taught us to speak of as 'the iron curtain,' lies the broad Russian sphere of influence. Its peoples, the Czechs, Poles, Yugoslavs and Bulgarians, as far as power politics go, are all regimented within the Russian brigade. West of that line the picture is much more confusing. I was on the point of saying that the natural reply to the formation of a Russian Eastern bloc would have been the formation of a Western bloc. If I say 'natural' I mean in terms of power politics. If men were behaving quite normally, and naturally today, the way their fathers and grandfathers behaved in history, that would certainly have been the reply to the potential threat in this concentration of power in Eastern Europe. Rightly or wrongly human beings will instinctively react in that way. In fact, the attempt to create a Western bloc has so far failed. It is no secret, of course, that under the old Coalition Government, with its Tory leadership, it was British policy to endeavour to form a close economic and military union of all the western States bordering on the Atlantic—Scandinavia, Holland and Belgium, primarily and first of all France, Italy, and when Franco disappears, also Spain. You may recall the ideological connexions of all these people, from the days of the Roman Empire and the Roman Church down to our own. Not once but twice they have fought together for their conception of democratic free-

dom. To form them into a bloc is an unnatural suggestion and yet I think if you have traced it from year to year, and from month to month, since we first began to think in those terms, you must have realized. But if we ever do get it, it will be formed with immense difficulty. I am not going to argue that we ought to form it; but first let us look objectively at its possibilities. The first difficulty is that nothing in the shape of a Federation ever did come into existence (except the 13 states of the American Union) save by the clustering of weaker units around one strong nucleus—Prussia in the case of Germany, Savoy in the case of united Italy. Can Britain fill that rôle? Whatever she might have been at the beginning of the war, she is now a debtor State, without the economic powers of manoeuvre that a Great Power, which seeks to attract its neighbours, should possess. Then, the next difficulty is that in several of these countries, but above all in France, there is a strong Communist party, which is attached to Russian interest. It is determined, as far as its influence can avail, to impose its views of foreign policy on the French Republic. If they cannot carry France right into the Russian camp, at least the French Communists will prevent her from entering any Western bloc in which Great Britain would be the leading Power. Events of the last day or two must have reminded you that this issue is still alive. We have to reckon with the Communists as the most formidable and decided of the three parties that divide power in France. If I were to glance at Italy, there is also the same set-up—a pretty active, skilfully-led, highly disciplined Communist Party, not quite so strong as that in France, but probably strong enough to keep Italy out of a Western orbit. These are some of the difficulties. There are others, of course, as we all know, only too painfully. Great Britain is necessarily moving to a certain extent in the orbit of the U. S. as her debtor.

How permanent and how easy that relationship can be is another matter. I myself do not think it will be permanent, or that it can be easy, for you have, as long as the present Government is in power, a clash of ideology between Socialist Britain, devoted to a planned economy, and the U. S. with its traditional capitalistic outlook and dread of anything in the nature of a planned economy. Again, there in our own camp we dread the possibility of a catastrophe in the American economic situation. If we link ourselves up too closely with that giant, we may be whirled into a catastrophe as grave as the last slump which set in in 1929. As far as we can watch American economy, there is still no power that can quite certainly guarantee us against a slump that might hurry us over the brink of Niagara. Lastly, America has taken up the ancient profession of money-lender to the universe, with too little experience. John Bull had done it for a century or two and has learnt a lot of the tricks of the trade. The chief business of a money-lender is to sit back in his chair and let the debtor feed him. This the leisured class in England had learned to do. It sat back in its chair, drew dividends and received a tribute from all over the world, enjoyed its leisure and hunted its foxes. In plain words, the surplus of imports it enjoyed represented the interest on its loans to mankind. It consented to receive this tribute. Americans

will never do that. It is not in their psychology, nor in their tradition that they should play the part of a leisured class; they won't hunt foxes and won't sit back in their chairs and let their debtors feed them. They will try to maintain a surplus of exports and will be extremely chary of letting their debtor pay back his debts in the shape of imports, which is the only way he can do it. So there you have a thoroughly uneasy relationship, and I am not going to predict its permanence.

I have been dealing all the time with the possibilities that present themselves in this world dominated by three Great Powers, in which one type of solution is that one Power should succeed in unifying the world. And now very briefly I want to look at the other possibility—the republican solution. My own belief is that it has been brought nearer by the discovery of atomic energy. Of course I know what many of us are thinking, that the very horror of this invention ought to bring men at last to use their reason in constituting human society on some basis other than power. I am not too sanguine of that line of argument. I am old enough to have heard it several times over one military invention or the other, none of which were as horrifying as the Atomic bomb. Indeed, I believe it was used when gunpowder was first adopted, and knights in armour in those days felt that that horrible invention had robbed war of all its chivalry and glory. But horrible inventions did not bring war to an end, not even in the 14th century, and I doubt if they are going to do it now.

Although we know something of the mechanical possibilities of this terrible invention, have we quite realized the political ease with which a war could now be launched and won, given this invention? I have talked it over with one or two experts. When I suggested that ten or a dozen Atomic bombs would be sufficient to destroy the British Isles in any political sense (i. e. to destroy us completely as a military and economic Power) they thought this an overstatement. Something less than ten Atomic bombs, dropped suddenly, without warning, on a single night might finish our nation. It might be done by two or three planes, but even if it were done by ten or a dozen, how many men would be involved? Not necessarily more than 100 or so—the crew of those ten or a dozen bombers. So, we have moved away from nearly all the checks upon war. At least, there were certain moral checks. A man bent on aggression, say like Hitler, had at least to spend a great deal of pains and a great deal of money before he could poison the mind of the German people, and had to devote many years to the processes of propaganda, since his only chance of winning a war was to enlist the will of the people behind it. But now, if you can wipe out your enemy in a single night with ten or a dozen bombers, dropped by fifty or a hundred pilots, all these moral or democratic checks are gone. The thing could be done before any Parliament or any Democracy could say a word about it. Most of us had something of that sort in our minds in feeling that this terrible invention, if it had not brought us actually nearer to World Government, had at any rate enormously strengthened the logical and moral case for it. We all realize, of course, how largely useless the U. N. O. necessarily is, because it cannot offer its protection to any

small State, however innocent or virtuous, against any of these three Great Powers. The right of these three to behave as they please in their dealings with small Powers, is actually inscribed in the Charter of the U. N. O. Organization. That is the meaning of the veto which enables any Great Power to prevent action, coercive or disciplinary, whenever it sees fit. That does not merely mean that a Great Power can forbid the U. N. O. to take action against itself. It means much more than that. It can forbid the U. N. O. to take action in any case. It can protect any one of its satellites by the use of this veto, so that if the U. N. O. were proposing to take action against, for instance, Bulgaria, Russia's veto would come into force just as decidedly as it would have done if the U. N. O. had risked its prestige by taking up the case of Azerbaijan.

It seems to me, that in this situation the Atomic bomb is the solution. It means omnipotence to any Power that possesses a monopoly. For the moment America has got that monopoly, but if the proposals that have been made in London and, at any rate in words accepted in Washington, could be carried out, then that monopoly over atomic energy would be transferred from America to the U. N. O. itself as a collective organization. If that could be done the whole difficulty of getting a sufficient balance of power against any offending, threatening or aggressive Power, would disappear. U. N. O. possessed of a monopoly over atomic energy, could, by merely lifting its hand in a threat, ensure that the greatest of Powers would be brought into obedience to law.

It might mean, if we are capable of using it, a great deal more than that. For, important as atomic energy may be in its military uses, I think we all realize that its industrial and beneficent uses may be very much more important still. I used to criticize the old League of Nations, because it was too much concerned in imposing law upon the world and in disciplining the aggressor, simply by the use of threats and sanctions of one sort or another. This was the jurist's approach. But there is another possible way of uniting mankind. Might not this new association of mankind be held together rather by the cement of benefits than by sanctions and punishments? Could we so construct it that the ordinary man within any of the States that are its members would understand that in some sense his bread, his work, his daily life depend on it? Well, I think you could get that by good organization—good organization above all on the economic side—even without atomic energy. But if you can conceive of atomic energy put under the control of an International Board of Physicists, not necessarily all collected in one place, but all co-operating, and all advising a central direction, then I think the U. N. O. of the future should be able to fulfil this conception of cementing mankind by benefits. In other words, whether it was done by licences, or patents, (I need not go into technical details), it would, at any rate, be from the centre of this U. N. O. that the benefits of atomic energy for specific purposes would be dispensed to all mankind. Obviously then, we have to conceive our U. N. O. as a democratic or republican organization. It must mean, even more certainly, that we have got to take the enormous step forward of realizing that

military power ought no longer to be owned by any national State. We must move forward to the conception of general disarmament, down, that is to say, to any minimum that may be necessary for police purposes. But I am talking, not like an Englishman, but like an Utopian. Have I brought you from Europe a new set of fancies or phantasmagorias? I wonder!

At any rate, we have got to the point where the Foreign Secretary of a Great Power, I mean Mr. Bevin, has gone about as far as I have gone just now, in proposing a World Government under a parliamentary system. I am not sure whether that brings us anywhere within sight of the goal, for we are dealing with three Great Powers and it is only one of the three—the oldest and, at the moment, the weakest and the most heavily indebted of the three—which is now prepared for this solution. Whether the other two are at all likely to advance towards it I very much doubt. However, I am not here to prophesy, but to offer a diagnosis.

I cannot sit down without one more word. I don't know whether you have been feeling anything of the discomfort that I have been feeling when I asked myself 'What is this man bringing to this Indian audience from Europe'? What a tale of barbarism, what a picture of brutality I have had to paint in describing our ordeal. I don't know whether your world is any better. I am not going to say it is. At any rate it is different in many ways, and perhaps it may lie with it to help us. There is no way out of this international situation that I have been describing by anything short of a moral revolution.

A discussion followed:

QUESTION (*Mr. Brelvi*)

Except in the last sentence you have not told us how the East is going to react to the division of power between these three dinosaurs?

ANSWER (*Mr. Brailsford*)

You are quite right. I did speak just of the division of Europe and said nothing of Asia. You face a somewhat similar, and perhaps just as dangerous, confrontation on a bigger geographical scale. America has marked out her own zone of interest, both economic and political, in the Pacific which manifestly covers Japan. There she has, indeed, instituted a consultative council to which the rest of us are admitted, but she has made it clear that whatever it advises she intends that her will shall prevail. She is also putting in her claim for a large number of islands which she requires for strategic purposes. Her position in China implies a surprising relationship between one Great Power and another. I cannot see the makings of equality in what is obviously going to be a very close relationship. Then you come to the third of the Great Powers which is, I hope and believe, engaged in a rapid retreat from the positions that it used to defend.

Sir Victor Sassoon: I don't know what I can say. I agree entirely with what the speaker has told you of the difficulties and I have no more a suggestion for a way out than he had. You have two very big dinosaurs. The third alleged dinosaur is trying very hard to prevent the other two from fighting. But if I may be allowed to say one thing, we realize that—whether you are going

to pretend that the development of atomic energy towards industrial purposes is going to be a good thing or not—the development of atomic energy is going to be the same as in the case of heavy chemicals. Whoever develops atomic energy for peaceful purposes has the power to turn it to non-peaceful purposes. As the speaker himself has pointed out, whoever drops the ten Atom bombs first, he is going to knock the other side out. Whether we should all be prepared—if we cannot get the World Republic—to come in on one side or the other, so as to allow one big Power to rule the world, and thus prevent a lot of people from being killed in the most unpleasant manner, I cannot tell you. I see no solution in my mind for what the speaker has foreshadowed. There appears to be no likelihood of anybody agreeing to have a super-State, with all the powers under a World Government, and even if we did, I am not so certain that there might not be somebody—some technical gentleman in charge may be—who would not, like Hitler, make a bid for power even within that super-State and think that he would like to rule the world. We have always got the weaknesses of human nature with us and they will have to be taken into account even in a super-State.

Frankly speaking, I have no more an answer to this problem than the speaker has.

QUESTION (Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas)

I feel disappointed at the turn that Mr. Brailsford gave to the international situation in this world. He has talked only in terms of Europe and left out Asia altogether. Some of us feel that the next war will be a war between Asia and Europe and will be a colour war, and that fear has not been realized by English statesmen.

(Another Questioner)

I must repeat the disappointment expressed by Mr. Brelvi and Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas that no mention has been made about India where there is a population of 400 million people. British policy has come to a stage where it has to say 'Goodbye' to this country, and this is well-known. India is going to be a Great Power, and very soon. What will be the position of the Great Powers then?

(Another Questioner)

Could Mr. Brailsford tell us something of the position of Germany in this context?

Mr. Brailsford:

I will try to answer as briefly as I can. My omission to speak of India, or China can be defended in this way, that my subject had really come to be a study of power, strictly in the military and industrial sense. In that sense, whatever India's millions or China's millions may have meant in the past, I do not think they are going to be a decisive factor in the future. If I understand anything of the new tactics of atomic energy, it is that any concentration of military power, whether on land or on sea, is henceforward impossible, and the only consequence of your massing all your millions would be

that you would have offered an irresistible target to your enemies. In so far as armies or navies count in the future, it will be only through some kind of guerilla warfare.

I suppose that a clever soldier could, sooner or later, be able to work out a fairly effective technique of that sort, making it difficult for an enemy to occupy a country that he had already overthrown with his Atom bombs, but that is the extent of it.

To take another point that was made, I should agree about the difficulty you mention that, just as any efficient chemical industry, that can supply the chemicals of commerce can also turn out the chemicals of warfare, so no doubt it will be with atomic energy. If you can produce it for industrial purposes, presumably with a little adaptation you will be able to produce it for warlike purposes also. I can see the danger that lies there. I think that is going to drive us on as much as anything else, to the creation of a world State. I see also all the difficulties that you mention, and I do not think there is any absolute answer to them. There is so rarely, after all, in human life an absolute answer to any of our difficulties. Mankind would have been a less strenuous animal if the world had been built any other way. But I would say this--- that the World Government we have to create is very much more than a mere political skeleton, and above all, very much more than a military organization. It won't work at all unless it is also based on certain common principles of education, so that in every school the world over, we must not stop school at the usual leaving age, but should try to train the new generation in higher conceptions of international duty. Of course, arrangements for international education would have to be made on a basis acceptable to all. The moment we are all ready to consent to that, there is very little danger left. I can imagine the reluctance of a Russian to allow an American to go into the Urals and hunt for unauthorized atomical apparatus. Or I can imagine the horror of Colonel Blimp if an Indian arrived in England as an inspector of U. N. O. to find out what we were doing about atomic energy. But if once we can all set our schools to work, I can see a happier future ahead of us. With the help of universal international education we may yet master the Colonel Blimp that is in all of us, and learn to accept the World Inspector, and the World Teacher, regardless of his nationality.

Thanking Mr. Brailsford for his instructive talk, Sir H. P. Mody said:

I hope I am not misinterpreting Mr. Brailsford if I say he has drawn a very depressing picture of the international situation. The moral rearmament of the world, which he is hoping for, would be a very fine thing, but it would not prevent the secret development of the Atomic bomb. The vast steppees of Russia could very well keep its manufacture from the knowledge of anyone until the dread weapon burst upon the world in all its horror. The real safeguard seems to me to lie in the possibility that the advent of the Atomic bomb may put a comparatively small Power on a level with the bigger ones. It would all depend upon the element of surprise. Apart from such speculations, the real position today would appear to be that there are three Great Powers, and that two of them represent the democratic forces which are wholly alien to the conception of the third. There is no common ground between the two ideologies, and the real question that arises is to what extent

the Democracies are prepared to go to defend their ideals. Are they going to be guilty of the same sort of appeasement or political ineptitude which was so much in evidence in the years immediately before the War, or are they going to assert themselves in time, so that the menace which faces the world may be effectively countered? If it does not sound too fantastic, I would say that some day India and China, with their huge resources in men and materials, and having no designs on their neighbours, might play a decisive part in preserving the peace of the world. With that thought and that hope, we can leave this room without being too depressed about the future, whatever our troubles in the present may be.

REGIONALISM AND WORLD SECURITY

By K. M. PANIKKAR

REGIONAL organization has quite a respectable background. The Armed Neutrality of the Northern Powers in the Napoleonic war was an attempt at regional organization, primarily for the purpose of defence. The Monroe doctrine which the United States promulgated, though essentially protective, was the beginning of a real regional organization, which in the course of a hundred years has developed into a prototype and model of such organizations. During the first Great War, the idea of regional organization again came to the forefront. Frederick Neuman's Mittel Europa, which definitely advocated an organization of the Danubian regions, may be taken as an example of this movement.

It is the growth of Nazi power in the thirties that gave a new impetus to political organizations based on geographical and economic factors. The system of Central European autarchy which the Nazi economists developed was a perversion of this idea, and its eastern counterpart, the co-prosperity sphere of East Asia, was not very different either in principle or in methods of action.

All these organizations, apart from the case of the Powers united in armed neutrality, have one special characteristic. The regional grouping visualized or attempted to be realized works around a predominant partner. It is the establishment of the paramountcy of a Great Power in a defined geographical region. The organization of Central Europe revolved round Germany; the pan-American system is based on the power, authority and manifest destiny of the United States. The East Asia co-prosperity sphere was a Japanese version of the same doctrine. In fact, so far, regional organization has meant nothing more than a polite phraseology for *lebensraum*.

But essentially, the idea is attractive. It is obvious that States in the same geographical region have common problems, have similar interests and are more concerned with the affairs of each other than States situated far away. The maintenance of peace, prosperity and security in a defined geographical region is of vital concern to all the States of the region and should of necessity be their primary object. Therefore, whenever world organizations

are contemplated, the urge for regional organizations becomes almost imperative.

This fact was recognized in the discussions at Dumbarton Oaks. The proposals that emerged from the discussions there provide expressly for the creation of regional organizations as the common interests of the countries constituting the region required it. Clause VIII C (i) of the proposals now embodied in the final Charter of the United Nations provided:

Nothing in the Charter should preclude the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the Organization. The Security Council should encourage settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the States concerned, or by reference from the Security Council.

This clause was explained officially by the British Government in the following words:

There follows a section approving of the establishment of regional bodies for maintaining international peace and security, provided that such bodies and their activities are consistent with the purposes and principles of the Organization. They may be used to encourage the settlement of disputes but they can enforce sanctions only with the authorization of the Security Council, which must be kept informed of their activities (VIII) (C) (2) and (3). Nevertheless, such bodies may play a large part in the organization of international peace and security as planned by the Military Staff Committee, and it may be assumed that the smaller States will play a larger and more continuous rôle in them than in the Security Council, which is necessarily severely restricted in numbers.

The United Nations Charter (Chapter VIII, Article 5 and 4) expressly reserves the right of the Security Council to override the regional organization and categorically states: 'this article (i.e., pacific settlement through regional organizations) in no way impairs the application of articles 34 and 35. It is also provided that the Security Council shall, where appropriate, use such regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority (Article 53) but no enforcement shall be taken under regional arrangements or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council.

The essential points in the system contemplated here are:

- (1) the regional organizations will be subordinate to the world organization;
- (2) their functions are primarily for the maintenance of peace and security, but the action taken by them in this behalf must be consistent with the purposes and principles of the world organization; and
- (3) the enforcement of sanctions by a regional organization can only be with *the approval of the Security Council*.

In short, regional organizations under the San Francisco Charter are limited by the conditions laid down for the Security Council and can work only within the limited sphere prescribed by the Charter. From the point of view of security and maintenance of peace this is a very serious handicap.

The dominant feature of the Security Council is the veto power of the permanent Powers. As M. Vyshinsky demonstrated at the recent meeting of the U. N. O. the veto can be used even to prevent a resolution being taken up which indirectly reflects on one of the permanent members. The regional councils can enforce sanctions or take any serious action only with the approval of the Security Council where the veto power will operate to prevent any discussion affecting one of *the Great Powers*. Now it is clear that *there is no region in the World* where one (or more) of the Great Powers with permanent seats has not a direct interest. In fact Britain is a Great Power in every continent. No regional organization is possible anywhere (even in America) without Britain being a party. The use of regional organization for the maintenance of peace and security becomes, therefore, subordinate to Britain's veto power and can never be used against Britain. In short the regional organization, in matters of security, will become merely another instrument for the effective assertion of the supremacy of the Great Powers.

It is perhaps for this reason that a large and influential body of opinion has strongly opposed the idea of entrusting regional councils with security functions. The fear has been expressed that the regional council will not only be unable to enforce sanctions against a Great Power, but may even be used to uphold and consolidate the influence and authority of Great Powers. There is undoubtedly much substance in this apprehension. A regional organization for the Mediterranean, for example, cannot exclude Britain or France from it. Both being permanent members of the Security Council, it is not possible for others to decide on a line of action which conflicts with the views of either of them. Again a Middle Eastern region must consider the position of Russia and Britain in relation to its own security and what action is possible by a regional council against two such Powers.

This brings us to one of the fundamental difficulties in regard to regional organizations. How is a region to be defined? Except the hemispherical region of America, where also Britain through Canada and Holland through Dutch Guiana have interests, there is no well-defined and self-contained region. The nearest approach to such an area is what may be called the Indian Ocean Region, where also France through Madagascar, Great Britain through her numerous possessions and Holland (at least for the time) through her Empire in Indonesia will have to be represented.

The Pacific regions are even more complicated. All the powers of the world seem to be interested there. U. S. A., England, Russia, France and China—all with permanent seats in the Security Council, are interested in the Pacific regions. In short, regions not merely overlap, but cannot even exclude Powers belonging to other regions. From the security point of view, it is clear that regional organizations however constituted cannot function successfully under the present Charter.

This does not, however, mean that regional organizations cannot have important functions to fulfil. If, as declared in the Charter, one of the objects of the world organization is to promote

- (a) higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development;
- (b) solutions of international economic, social, health and other related problems: international cultural and educational co-operation; and
- (c) universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinctions as to race, language, religion or sex ;

then there will be great scope for the activities of regional councils.

This work which is of the very highest importance can only be organized on a regional basis. The conditions of different regions in the world differ so much that the promotion of higher standards of living, for example, has a different meaning in relation to the people of South-East Asia to what it has in European countries. The programme of any action to give effect to this object has to be worked out in terms of particular regions. Similar is the case with conditions of social progress. The question has a different significance in relation to India and China to what it has in relation, say to Russia. Clearly it is impossible for a central organization, however competent, and however universal in its outlook, to tackle these problems for each area. Without a proper devolution, the regions further away from the centre of the organization will receive but little attention. The experience of I. L. O. for example bears witness to this fact. Besides, from the point of view of standards of living, social and economic progress, and the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, it is the regions further away from Europe and America that require urgent attention. The countries of the Arab region, the Middle East and South-East Asia require to be more urgently dealt with in these matters than the countries of western Europe. But is it likely that a central organization, dominated as it is bound to be by the problems of European nations, will find the time for initiating a policy of sustained action in these outlying regions? It is only by encouraging the growth of vigorous regional councils that these problems can be tackled at all. In this sphere at least the veto power of the Great Powers need not be feared.

The regional councils can be active over a very wide range in their own area and, what is more, can bring pressure on the central organization in matters of importance. Through a system of periodical enquiries, expert commissions and reports on specific issues, a regional organization can step up the activities of the constituent States especially in matters affecting standards of living, public health, labour conditions, control of epidemics and numerous other matters of fundamental importance. Also in respect of the political development of backward areas under the trusteeship system, the regional organization can act effectively as a watch-dog. It can also provide the representatives of areas which are not fully independent with a forum for putting their case without raising it in the very first instance to the position of international issues.

Properly looked at, regional organizations should be considered as agencies for dealing with special problems of local interest and not as institutions usurping the security functions of the world organization. No doubt even in the

sphere of peace and security such an organization can, if developed with foresight and care, act as a guardian of the interests of the lesser units of the area. It can eliminate the causes of conflict, initiate the machinery of negotiation and by bringing world opinion to bear on issues prevent aggression. Regional councils may have, therefore, very useful functions to fulfil, but their usefulness will depend on a clear definition of area and of function.

REPARATIONS FROM GERMANY*

By H. V. R. IYENGAR

A GREAT deal of interest has been displayed in recent weeks on the subject of reparations from Germany. Sometime ago, I gave a talk to representatives of the Press on the subject of the International Conference on Reparations held at Paris last November; and I was gratified and considerably surprised to find that it received very full publicity in our papers. A few days ago, there was also an adjournment motion in the Legislative Assembly at which the work of the Indian Delegation at the Paris Conference came under review. All these discussions, however, have borne on only one aspect of the problem, viz., the Indian share of reparations from Germany. I am not aware of any discussions in India, nor have I heard of any important discussions overseas, on the more fundamental problems of reparations, viz., their justification in the form in which they are being imposed and their effect, both long-term and immediate, on the economy of Germany, of the Continent of Europe and of the rest of the world.

To take part in such a discussion, with any attempt at depth or comprehensiveness, requires a combination of talents which I certainly do not possess—a knowledge of History and more particularly of Economics and Economic history. It would seem presumptuous to discourse to a body such as the Indian Council of World Affairs on the not very high plane of a merely departmental official; nevertheless it may stimulate thought and deeper study on the part of someone here if I give you a few of the ideas that occur to me on this subject.

The problem of reparations is a comparatively modern problem. So far as I am aware, it did not exist at all in the old days in anything like the form which it has taken in recent times. When somebody made war on his neighbour in the past and won, he did either of two things—he occupied the throne and became ruler or he looted treasure, such as gold and jewellery, and disappeared into his own fastnesses. There was no question of the conquered country labouring over a long series of years for the purpose of making payments to the country which had become victorious. This, on historical grounds, is easy to understand; the world had not become industrialized; peoples' wants were comparatively few and simple; and reparations in the form of continuing indemnities in kind were out of place.

* An address delivered under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs, Delhi, on 15 February 1946, DR. H. N. Kunzru presiding.

Even in 1870, when the Germans defeated the French, the problem was comparatively simple. You may remember that the Treaty of Frankfurt signed in May 1871 stipulated that France should pay reparations to Germany amounting to 5 milliard francs, of which one milliard was to be paid in 1871 and the balance in the following three years. The evacuation of French territory was to be carried out in stages in accordance with the payments made. The French did not take three years to pay these reparations; they completed their last payment within 18 months, and the Germans actually evacuated the last French territory early in 1873. It does not appear that the payment of these reparations imposed any crushing burden on the French people. I have not been able to discover what proportion of the French national income these reparations represented. In terms of the French national income in 1929, the reparations paid in 1871-72 approximated to 1/9th of the national income. It would probably be found that, in terms of the national income in 1871-72, the reparations represented a quarter or a fifth of the national income. This was heavy enough, but not particularly burdensome, and the French economy was able to recover quickly and enabled France in two generations to become a Great Power.

The next occasion on which the problem of reparations projected itself on the international scene was after the war of 1914-1918. The Allied Powers naturally demanded that Germany should pay reparations. Stated in terms of a principle, the basis of the claim made against Germany was fair enough. Germany was to pay for all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals had been subjected as a consequence of the war. This was all; and it was particularly stipulated that there were to be no contributions and no punitive damages. I cannot imagine anyone objecting to the enunciation of such a policy in the abstract. Unfortunately, it was generally forgotten that the application of such a policy in the conditions in which Germany and the rest of the world found themselves after 1918 was bound to lead to economic chaos and political frustration and eventually to another armageddon.

The material damage caused by World War I was nothing like so great as the damage caused by World War II. The nations did not possess those frightful long-range weapons which during the last 6 years have caused such enormous physical destruction of property. Nevertheless, the damage caused in 1914-18 was large enough—what was worse, it was inflated a great deal by the Allies. It was not the least of the effects of the war that it dulled the moral susceptibilities of many nations and made them reckless and extravagant in the claims which they made on their enemy. After making all possible allowance for the doubts and distractions caused by great physical suffering, it was clear that in making their claims on Germany several of the Allies badly over-reached themselves. Their total claim—barring that of the USA, which did not ask for any reparations at all—amounted to 225,000 million gold marks. The Reparations Commission which was set up scaled this down to 132,000 million gold marks, amounting, at the then rate of exchange, to about 32,000 million dollars. The payments were to begin imme-

diently at the rate of 750 million dollars a year. The payments demanded amounted, as far as I can make out, to several times the entire national income of Germany. We have to remember that Germany had not been destroyed during World War I in the sense in which she is destroyed now; her cities, her factories, her transportation system, were all intact, her losses generally being confined to man-power and to Alsace-Lorraine. Nevertheless, it was quite clear to keen students of economics, of whom the most famous and most vigorous was Lord Keynes, that it was impossible for Germany to pay reparations of this magnitude, and attempts to force her to do so would lead to chaos and confusion. Germany actually paid at the rate of 750 million dollars till 1923, but she paid with great difficulty. It is interesting to note that, in addition to such gold as she possessed, she paid in coal, ships, livestock, works of art and so forth and that, in order to finance these purchases internally, the German Government printed more currency notes. But against this expansion of currency Germany had no reserves and no hope of any future reserves. This was the beginning of the great currency inflation which reached such a crisis towards the end of 1923.

I do not propose to take you through the long and weary negotiations which followed the default of Germany. Briefly to complete the historical aspect of this talk, I would merely refer to the Dawes Committee. This Committee did not determine the total amount of reparations which Germany should be called upon to pay, but merely examined what Germany could, in fact, pay in the immediate future. The Dawes Plan recommended small payments in the first two years, working up by 1929 to annual payments of 625 million dollars to be continued indefinitely. In 1929 the Young Plan was formulated. It was felt that to ask for payments for an indefinite period would lead to unfortunate results, and the Young Plan stipulated that the annual payments should be brought down to some 475 million dollars per year to cease by the year 1988. The business depression of 1929 made the Plan unworkable and we all know what happened when Hitler came into power. It is interesting, in the meanwhile, to observe that, in order to enable Germany to pay, large-scale loans were made to her by the Allies—an arrangement which, in retrospect, appears quite quixotic.

I would like to emphasize that in my view the lesson to be learnt from the above story is not a moral one; the moral basis of the reparation claim against Germany was correct enough. The real significance was economic and strategic. If you leave a strong and virile country possessed of great technical skill in full possession of its industrial potential and demand that she should turn out goods in vast quantities and pay them as reparations, the effect is that the payments are bound to lead to a disruption of the world's economy unless, indeed, the other nations are prepared to receive such goods and make use of them. This is precisely what they were not prepared to do for, by and large, they were turning out these very goods themselves and selling them in the world's markets. The result was that the Allies were not prepared to receive reparations in the only form in which Germany could pay them. More important than this frustration of the Allied claims was

that German productive capacity remained keyed up to a high pitch of efficiency; and it was a simple jump in technology to change over from ploughshares to guns. The cardinal factor in the world situation after the last war was that the Allies thought it was in their interest to let Germany maintain and even improve her industrial capacity, so that they could get reparations. It was this industrial capacity that so nearly brought civilization to its doom. This was the lesson which the Big Three had prominently before them when they were settling the fate of Germany last year. They decided that the productive capacity of Germany should be reduced to the bare minimum necessary for Germany's own economy on a very modest level and that the surplus industrial equipment should be physically removed from Germany and distributed to the Allies as reparations. It was considered that two purposes would thereby be served—(1) that Germany would be unable to regain her war potential and (2) the form of reparation payments would not disrupt the world's economy.

The economists among you would find it worth while to study the possible effects, both immediate and long-range, of this decision of the Allied Powers. So far as I can see, the effect is that the world will lose for an indefinite period some of the advantages of the undoubtedly remarkable intelligence and technical efficiency of the German nation. This would be a real loss to the world. It is as if the earning power of a very intelligent member of a family were lost. But against this has to be set the fact that any other decision would result in Germany retaining sufficient war potential with the help of which she might resume aggression in the future. A similar dilemma is occurring in the case of Japan. Japan will be stripped of her industries beyond those necessary for an extremely modest peace-time economy, and the technical skill and ability of the Japanese race will, in certain directions, be lost to the world. But this dilemma has been forced on the Allies by the Germans and Japanese themselves and the Allies have really not had any choice in the matter. I fear that those who declaim, on moral grounds, against stripping Germany and Japan of their industrial potential do not sufficiently appreciate the dangers from which the world has been saved.

There is no estimate of the value of reparations that will be available from Germany. It is clear, however, that they will not compensate for more than a very small fraction of the damage caused by her in the war. We in this country have only an inadequate conception of the enormous damage that the war has caused to Europe and nothing so impressed me at the Paris Conference as the yawning gap between the reconstruction expenditure of Allied Governments and any possible reparations likely to be available from Germany. No lesson is more obvious than this, that a modern war leaves the victors nearly as exhausted as the vanquished and with little or no hope of recouping the losses. Reparations are thus not important economically; they make little real difference to the ravages of war; they are primarily important in the strategic sense.

Discussion: In the discussion that followed, a number of questions were asked about the work done at the Paris Conference. Answering a question as to

the principles on the basis of which reparations were allocated to the claimant countries, the lecturer stated that the countries represented at the Conference were all asked to produce certain statistics relating to their war effort and the effect of the war on their economy. After a good deal of discussion, it was agreed that the statistics that should be taken into account in arriving at the percentages of allocation should be the following: the budgetary cost of the war, the damage caused by the war, the man-years spent on the war effort and the casualties suffered as a consequence of the war. The statistics were not used in a merely arithmetical manner. It was difficult to do so, because, among other things, it was impossible to assess the weightage to be given to the different factors. From the Indian point of view, a merely arithmetical computation on the basis of statistics under the above heads would have led to merely token reparations, because Indian figures were very small compared to the figures of other countries. For example, the budgetary cost to the U. S. A. of the war against Germany reached the colossal dimensions of 2,00,000 million dollars and the British figure was in the region of 90,000 million dollars against the Indian figure of less than 1,200. Likewise, the damage suffered by India was negligible in comparison with the colossal damage suffered by England and the Continental countries. The Conference, while taking into account the statistical case presented by each country, also took into account certain special features put forward by the Indian Delegation; in particular, the loss of life suffered during the Bengal famine, which was accepted as attributable to the war, and the effect of the war expenditure on the civilian economy of India, which has, both comparatively and absolutely, so low a standard of living. The lecturer said that, while on a purely statistical basis, reparations amounting to only 1/2% could have been justified, the Conference agreed to India getting 2.9% in respect of industrial equipment and 2% in respect of other items.

Answering a question as to whether India should not have refused any reparations altogether as a moral gesture, the lecturer pointed out that such a gesture would not have meant anything whatsoever to the people of Germany and would merely have prevented India from getting industrial equipment of which she was so sorely in need. It had been decided at the Potsdam Conference that industrial equipment over and above what was necessary for the immediate peace-time economy of Germany should be removed, and the only effect of the gesture would have been that equipment would have gone to some other country instead of coming to India.

A question was asked as to the procedure for allocating machinery. The lecturer pointed out that in accordance with the recommendations of the Paris Conference an Agency had been set up in Brussels called the Inter-Allied Reparations Agency and that it consisted of representatives of all the Allied nations who were present at the Paris Conference. Each member-country, irrespective of its share of reparations, was entitled to one vote. If more than one country asked for the same equipment, then the Agency decided which country should get it. If a country was aggrieved by the decision, it had the right to ask for arbitration. When the lecturer left the

Paris Conference a few days before it had concluded its session, the decision was that normally the U. S. A. delegate should act as an arbitrator or appoint an arbitrator from among other delegates not claiming the item in question.

A question was asked whether the U. S. A. delegate would not be interested in seeing that, in deciding an arbitration issue, the export interests of the U. S. A. were kept in mind. The lecturer stated that there was universal confidence among the delegates in Paris in the fairness of the U. S. A.

Asked about his general impressions of the Conference, the lecturer said that, somewhat unusually for international conferences, all the delegates worked with the determination to reach an agreed settlement on a fair basis. The atmosphere was one of very great cordiality throughout, and the Indian Delegation received every consideration and kindness. It was the lecturer's impression that India, because of her size and strategic importance, could make a great impression on international conferences.

POLITICAL TRENDS IN CANADA

By BLAIR FRASER

It was a piece of historic irony that Canada, of all the western democracies, should have been the theatre for exposure of the Soviet Union's espionage techniques.

It is a fair inference that these techniques are similar in all democratic countries, at least in their use of fellow-travelling citizens who are in the employ and confidence of their own governments. But the irony lies in the fact that in no western country, with the possible exception of Britain, has the Communist Party been as tiny, as frail, as insignificant politically as it is in Canada. Now that the espionage story has emblazoned Canada's name throughout the world and has linked it with Communism and treason, it may be well to use this incident as a window through which to examine the political condition, in this first post-war year, of the senior self-governing Dominion of the British Commonwealth.

Until now, the Canadian nation has been divided, politically, more than is generally realized abroad. Six years of war put a great strain upon the unity of a nation which is, after all, a racial and cultural mosaic. French-Canadians of Quebec felt no loyalty, felt rather a latent hostility, to Britain whose ally we were. Loyalists of Ontario, at the opposite extreme, focussed their patriotism on Britain first of all, with Canada a bad second. And between these opposite poles of sentiment other Canadians, probably the majority, felt confused and resentful toward the coercions of war, toward an economic system which seemed to find the money for destruction which it never could find for human welfare, and toward a government which like all governments made a good many mistakes.

The political results of this inward strain are now manifest. Actually in power at this moment, in the nine provincial governments of Canada, are no less than five political parties. Only three of the nine provinces are under

straight Liberal Governments like the Mackenzie King Administration in Ottawa. Two more are Right-wing coalitions against the Socialists. Another, in prairie Saskatchewan, *is* Socialist. Ontario, Canada's largest and wealthiest province, has the only Government in the British Commonwealth (if not in the world) that still calls itself Conservative. Quebec and western Alberta are each governed by unique, freak régimes—Alberta by a Social Credit Party dedicated to the monetary doctrines of Major Douglas (which it preaches but does not practise) and Quebec by a French-Canadian nationalist faction called *l'Union Nationale*. All these Governments, with the possible exception of that in Quebec, have firm hold of their respective electorates and would win an election tomorrow without difficulty.

In this tangle of schism the Communist Party of Canada has been a deliberately divisive force.

Before the Soviet Union was invaded in 1941, Communists here as everywhere campaigned against the 'imperialist war' with vigour and vituperation. This led to the suppression of their party (it's still illegal under its old name) and the internment of a number of their leaders. After Hitler's attack on Russia the line altered; Communist leaders were released from internment and reformed their still-banned political organization under the name Labour-Progressive Party. In the labour movement, their men became active on behalf of all-out war effort, sponsoring no strike pledges, collaboration with management, etc.

But even during this collaboration period, the Communist effort was primarily divisive. Its aim then was to split the labour movement, an objective it achieved to a considerable degree. Moreover, Communist support was and is the 'kiss of death' in Roman Catholic Quebec, a province whose French background had made it unenthusiastic about the war in any case, and where vociferous Communist appeals for 'all-out effort' had a boomerang effect.

Politically, however, the Communists in Canada did do their best for the Liberal Government of Prime Minister Mackenzie King.

Before the federal election last summer a Communist leader came to the Liberal Party with a proposition: Let the Liberals indicate in which ridings they would like to have the labour vote split, and in those ridings the Communists would run candidates. Where the Liberals preferred a clear field, they should have one.

As a matter of fact, the Liberals rejected this deal, preferring to make no bargain with their temporary and none-too-welcome allies. But despite this rebuff, the Communist Party did conduct its campaign with an eye more to Liberal than to Communist victories in the political arena. Of its own men it elected only one—it had had two in the previous House. But it did contribute to the defeat of some Socialists, and therefore to the victory of a corresponding number of Liberals.

All that took place in June 1945. By July, the Communist line in North America had changed. The American leader Earl Browder, chief advocate of the 'collaboration' policy, had been deposed in disgrace. Canadian leadership was unchanged in personnel, but the Party line swung obediently left

again. Once more its hand was against every man's, and every man's against it.

We have noted that the strictly political influence of the Communists was small. This was not true, however, of their influence in the trade union movement. In Canada as in Australia they have concentrated on the task of gaining control of labour unions, and although their success has been very far from complete, they have at least shown a good deal of skill in achieving domination with a well-disciplined minority. By the autumn of 1945 a number of large and influential unions, notably in the automobile, aircraft and electrical manufacturing fields, were led by executives who were either Communists or under Communist control.

I say 'by the autumn of 1945' because it was at that point, months before the spy-ring exposure, that Communist influence in the Canadian labour movement began to wane. Communists in the United Automobile Workers, one of the biggest and strongest industrial unions in Canada, were the motive power of the country's biggest strike of recent years, the four-months-long struggle at the Ford motor plant. The strike itself was popular; the tactics, timing and general leadership of it were not. All through the hungry third and fourth months of the Ford strike the Communist faction in the United Automobile Workers and other Canadian unions lost ground.

Moreover, the sharp turn in the Communist Party line during 1945 had the effect of demonstrating the political affiliations of some labour leaders who previously had evaded the 'Red' label. In French-Canadian Montreal, for example, the big union of aircraft workers expelled its executive—men whom everyone except the aircraft workers, apparently, had known as Communist for years, but who throughout the war had held the loyalty of their devoutly Catholic members.

Even in unions where there were no elements of racial or religious prejudice, and where no actual strikes occurred to throw men out of employment, there were indications of dissatisfaction with the new Communist line. Canadian Communists were a little premature, as they often have been in the past, in attempts to exploit the difficulties of reconversion. Their tactics of fomenting the latent hostility between labour and management, often effective, was employed this time at a moment when both parties were still too keenly aware of the need, and too hopeful of the possibility, of continuing to co-operate as they had done in war. Broadly speaking, in most Canadian industries the strategy of trouble-making has been an unpopular failure since war's end.

This, then, was the political background against which the sensational disclosures of February and March were unfolded. Canada, a democracy wherein the relatively feeble strength of the Communist Party had already gone into a decline, was suddenly cast in the rôle of a hot-bed of Stalinist conspiracy—not only in the eyes of the world, but to some degree in its own eyes too. We have always had a powerful Red-baiting, Red-fearing clique in Canada; needless to say, their voices have taken on a new stridency in the past few months.

What has been the net effect of all this misleading clamour upon the political condition of the Dominion?

It is too soon to answer with certainty, but the immediate effect has been an increase of national unity which may prove of great value not only to Canada but to the whole democratic world.

We have spoken already of the schisms which divide this country, the many cross-fissures of racial, regional, religious hostilities and prejudices. As anyone in India can readily understand, war always has the effect of increasing these internal tensions. Hostility between war-minded Empire loyalists and anti-war, anti-imperialist French-Canadians becomes acute. Regional rivalries, generally facetious, becomes bitter—bereaved mothers and soldiers' widows are all too keenly aware of any contrast in sacrifice among the different groups and regions of the land.

During the war just past, the wise policy of the Canadian Government kept these results of war down to a hitherto undreamt-of minimum. Provocative policies were avoided as much as possible; meanwhile, both the existence and the causes of internal prejudice were proclaimed publicly, the maintenance of national unity was announced and agreed upon as an objective second only to victory. On the whole this attempt to preserve the unity of Canada was successful—the heritage of mutual distrust was far smaller, far less bitter than it had been in 1918.

Nevertheless, some such heritage did exist. The election of last summer returned the Mackenzie King Government with a majority of less than a dozen. Moreover, it demonstrated a dangerous tendency toward regional blocs—Ontario mostly Conservative, Saskatchewan mostly Socialist and so on—which has made the task of the Government more difficult in the past year. There was a very real peril that upon any given issue, even Liberal Members of Parliament might turn their support from the Government to whatever policy their regional bloc was advocating. On one or two occasions this actually happened, and Government policy had to be altered with embarrassing rapidity.

On the whole, there is reason to suppose that the espionage scare will diminish this tendency. It will diminish it, particularly, on issues connected with international affairs, with the feeding of the free world, the maintenance of the western democratic alliance, and the general policy of active participation in the councils of the world.

After the last war, Canada's reaction was in the direction of extreme isolation. 'No commitments' became the national slogan in world affairs, even at Geneva. It was Canada who introduced the resolution which emasculated Article 10 of the League Covenant, and made real preventive action by the League virtually impossible. Up to Munich and after, up to the very eve of war this temper persisted in the Canadian people. Prime Minister Mackenzie King has said publicly that if Britain and France had not signed the pact of Munich and had gone to war in 1938, it would have been politically impossible to bring in a united Canada too.

During 1944 and 1945, steps were taken to anticipate a similar reaction in North America. At Dumbarton Oaks, at San Francisco, plans for inter-

national organization were drawn up while the war fervour still lasted. It may be supposed that these would have continued to have some effect, that the reaction to isolationism would not have been so complete and so extreme as it was in the 1920's.

But the reaction would have taken place—had, in fact, begun already. Canada has already withdrawn from the occupation of Germany, a task in which more than 30,000 of her ground and air forces had been assisting the British. The withdrawal, though technically it took place upon a previously agreed date, was really ahead of schedule by at least a period of months—it was forced upon the Government by discontent bordering on mutiny among the home-sick troops.

Similarly in domestic affairs, the reaction was away from the disciplines of war. In spite of the dire need of Europe and Asia it was not politically possible to make food rationing at all stringent. Controls upon rents and retail prices continued to be popular, but the wage controls and commodity controls which made them feasible had become irksome, and campaigns were on foot for their removal.

Support of the U. N. O. had not yet come up as a real political issue. All parties and groups in Canada pay lip service to the ideal of international organization. Until the Security Council decides upon the methods and national constituents of its armed forces, the need to back up words with deeds will not arise. But in view of the fiasco of the Canadian Occupation Force in Germany, there was every reason to fear that any promises made to U. N. O. might be easier to express than to execute.

There was developing, in short, something of the mood of post-war carnival which swept this continent 25 years ago. Partly, now as then, it overlay a deeper despair—'eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die.' Mainly, it was an unthinking relapse from the high idealism and concentrated effort of war into the easy selfishness and the too-ready disillusion of peace.

This tendency in Canada has certainly been slowed, has perhaps been arrested by the revelations of February and March.

Canadians are a bit naïve, perhaps, in their dealings with other lands. Up to now, all our foreign relations have been friendly. With unfriendly nations we have had literally no relations at all in the past, except when the situation had already deteriorated to the point of war. We knew, in a vague way, that big nations spy upon one another, but we had never had to do it ourselves—our best friends, Great Britain and the United States, were always willing to tell us what we wanted to know about their own plans, and with other friendly nations we were unsuspecting, unsuspected and generally tranquil and unobtrusive in our behaviour.

It was a genuine shock to Canadians to discover that a friendly Power was maintaining spies in our midst. We had thought of spies for two generations with the invariable prefix 'German,' and generally we had thought of them as characters in fiction rather than in real life. To find them in Canada, working for a war-time ally, horrified us.

Probably the Russian Government thinks this attitude of moral outrage is

mere hypocrisy. It may well be inconceivable to Europeans that any people could be so naïve in the 20th century. But if this is their judgement they are wrong—we really were shocked. We felt it was an unfriendly act, a proof of hostility.

Another, deeper concern was shared by all Canadians, even the most sophisticated, and it was felt particularly by the members of the Canadian Government. This was concern at finding in the Government's employ, in highly confidential posts, seemingly loyal Canadian citizens who felt that their first loyalty was to another country than their own.

No one was more worried by this discovery, no one was more profoundly depressed by its implications, than Prime Minister Mackenzie King himself. When, after the discovery of the plot last September, he left for Washington and London with the news of it, he went in a mood of discouragement for which observers were then at a loss to account, but which has now been explained by events.

It may, therefore, be said that all Canadians, the naïve and the sophisticated alike, were shocked into alertness by the espionage plot. For one or another reason it brought to each of us a renewed awareness of danger.

This does not mean Canadians either wish or expect a third World War. Quite the reverse—it might rather be said that their desire for action to prevent war has taken on a new urgency. But it does mean a new national cohesion, a sense of unity among ourselves and with our nearer allies, a sense which has in it some approximation of the comradeship of war.

There is no denying that the spy-ring exposure has created hostility in this country toward the Soviet Union. In places like Catholic Quebec where it existed already, anti-Russian feeling has been intensified and consolidated. Elsewhere one finds a feeling of reluctant suspicion confirmed.

It does not follow, however, that the ultimate effect of this development will be bad.

Canada is not by any means an aggressive nation. Its whole psychology is peaceful, defensive. Even in the afore-mentioned hostility there is no impulse to attack, merely a renewed concern about defence both physical and juridical. And the internal result of this renewed concern is a greater tendency toward unity, and a nearer approach to unanimity in international policy.

Always in the past; for example, Catholic Quebec has been a millstone about the neck of any Government trying to prepare for war. War is firmly identified in the French-Canadian's mind with a colonial subservience to Britain, with imperialism, with the use of Canadian flesh and blood to defend the possessions of others. Now, for the first time, he fully shares his compatriots' interest in the world scene. Nowhere is the feeling of hostility stronger, the sense of danger more acute than in Catholic Quebec.

Not that the French-Canadian, any more than the English-Canadian, wants war. No Canadian wants war. But today, for the first time, French and English Canadians alike are awake to the realization that the prevention of war may cost us something. And for the first time, it seems likely that an

effective majority of us will be willing to pay it.

Canadian support of U. N. O. has always been valuable; it seems now to be growing firm and strong.

Canadian willingness to make material contribution for the welfare of allied nations has been a bit variable, as in the rest of North America. It now appears steadier and more reliable.

Canada had just lent to Britain \$ 1,250,000,000—more than \$ 100 for each man, woman and child in the Dominion. The loan has been made on the same terms, as those of the United States loan, though the 2% interest rate represents a considerably greater loss to Canada than to the U. S. A. because of the higher rate Canada has to pay on her own borrowings. In addition, Canada has wiped out entirely a balance of \$ 425,000,000 owed her by Britain at the conclusion of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan.

Food for Europe and Asia has been going forward in ever increasing quantities—where some have fallen short, Canada has exceeded contractual commitments. At this writing a delegation from India is here seeking grain to relieve the threatened famine in the East; what the result of these negotiations will be has not yet become apparent, but there is at least no lack of the will to contribute. With grain as with all bulk foods, the problem is that of finding sufficient transport capacity to move what we have to send.

Domestically, our own planning for peace goes on with perhaps a new sense of urgency. The Canadian Government has elaborate plans for reconstruction, for social legislation, for the use of the national budget to control the oscillations of the business cycle. All these plans depend on a reform of the Canadian constitutional system, and particularly of the fiscal structure, the division of taxing powers between federal and provincial governments. Canada has been attempting for years, without success, to achieve these reforms, and three conferences since the end of World War II have borne relatively little fruit. But a fourth conference is to meet very soon, and there is among the people of Canada a growing impatience with the bickerings, the jockeyings, the regional jealousies which have prevented agreement in the past. This time, it looks as if we shall be able to solve our constitutional problem—if not to everyone's satisfaction, at least to the point of making orderly progress possible.

And so at home and abroad, Canada as a nation is maturing. World War I saw the end of our colonial status. World War II revealed and accentuated our country's growth as an industrial and, to some extent, a military Power—it is momentarily true, though not particularly relevant, to say that Canada is the fourth military Power in the world.

There was danger that the next stage for Canada might have been reaction, withdrawal, a return to the blindfold attitude of the 1920's and 1930's. That danger now seems to have been averted. Wakened by a new and probably salutary shock, Canadians are once more aware of their responsibility in the Atomic Age, and of mankind's obligation to choose between 'one world or none.'

EUROPEAN REGIONALISM

By G. A. JOHNSON

‘THE search for a formula of European co-operation in conjunction with the League of Nations, far from weakening that body, should not, and could not, tend but to increase it, for it is in close keeping with the ideals of the League.’ So the French Government declared in 1930, recommending to European States-members of the League the project for Federal Union with which M. Briand’s name is specially associated. Further quotation seems apposite:

The need for establishing a permanent régime of solidarity based on international agreements for the rational organization of Europe arises from the very conditions of security and well-being of the nations whose geographical position already imposes on them in this part of the world a real solidarity.

No one today doubts that the lack of cohesion in the grouping of the material and moral forces of Europe does in fact constitute the most serious obstacle to the development and efficiency of all political or judicial institutions on which the foundations of any universal organization of peace tend to be based. This dispersion of energy does not limit less seriously, in Europe, the possibilities of enlarging the economic market, the attempts at intensifying and ameliorating industrial production, and thereby every guarantee against labour crises, which are sources of both political and social instability....

The very activities of the League of Nations, whose responsibilities are rendered all the more heavy by the fact that it is a universal organization, might meet with serious obstruction in Europe if these territorial divisions were not counteracted at the earliest moment by a bond of solidarity....

It is on the plane of absolute sovereignty and of entire political independence that the understanding between European nations must be brought about.

In its language, this document bears marks of conditions which no longer survive. Almost all the propositions quoted are open to criticism. It was produced, moreover, as again the text betrays, at a time when Germany, though not yet Nazi, was a member of the League and Russia not, and the strongest cement in Europe was fear of bolshevism. Yet even today it expresses, subject to suitable modification, the ideas of most regionalists, though plans nowadays are less spacious than M. Briand’s and still less spacious than Mr. Streit’s. There are, moreover, yet few who would, like Mr. Culbertson, divide the whole world into regions, each a federation, forming the basis of world federation. Current objects are more limited. What is aimed at, for the most part, is a neighbourhood association. Even so this is recommended for much the same reasons as the French plan for the whole of Europe, namely security, political and economic convenience and well-being and greater efficiency as an international instrument. Other motives not so openly advertised are ideological sympathy and mutual protection against powerful fellow-members of the United Nations organization.

Of these claims on behalf of regionalism the United Nations Charter is concerned directly with only one, the part played by regional agencies in maintaining peace and security. To the general principles of regional security there was no serious objection either at Dumbarton Oaks or at San Francisco. Such arrangements for settlement of local disputes are 'encouraged' both in the draft and in the final Charter. Their use by the Security Council for enforcement action under the Charter was approved. Difficulty arose at San Francisco over the question whether under them immediate sanctions could be imposed on an aggressor, as under the European treaties designed to check renewed German aggression. The case in point was the pan-American arrangement adopted at Mexico City in March, known as the Act of Chapultepec, views about which were coloured on the one side by the Monroe Doctrine and on the other by Argentina's adherence to the Act on the eve of the San Francisco Conference. A compromise was eventually reached. Since objection to unqualified blessing of regional security plans arose in this American instance first, because it seemed uncertain that there would be adequate submission to the supreme authority of the Security Council in view of the citation of a rival international doctrine and, second, because it involved association with a State of quasi-Fascist character, one might have expected that the effect would be to encourage European schemes to which there could be no such objection. So far, however, there has been no sign of this.

There is possibly another indirect reference to regionalism in the U. N. Charter, in those articles dealing with 'specialized agencies.' The obvious reference is to international organizations such as the International Labour Office or the World Federation of Trade Unions, which may be brought into relation with U. N. O. Since, however, it is possible that regionalism in Europe would assume a functional character, that case may also be covered.

II

Of possible regional arrangements in Europe, here are the chief, arranged in no special order. Suggested blocs are:—

Western, possibly including Britain and France,
Eastern, under Russian protection,
Middle,
Danubian,
Balkan,
Scandinavian,
Latin.

Obviously not all these could exist simultaneously. There are other possible arrangements, a European union, either in M. Briand's sense or in that for which the late Hilda Monte passionately pleaded from a predominantly economic point of view, in both cases excluding Russia and possibly Britain. Neither seems likely in present circumstances. Pre-war arrangements, political or economic, such as the Little Entente, the Balkan Pact, the Oslo Pact (comprising Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Belgium and Holland) and the Baltic Pact (Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia) need to be mentioned for,

though all no longer exist and some have almost certainly gone for ever, others show possibilities for fresh alignments under different names. Agreements reached during the war, between Poland and Czechoslovakia and between Yugoslavia and Greece, need to be considered. Finally there is the interesting and romantic project for a 'Zone of Small Nations' advocated by Prof. Seton-Watson on the basis of the little publicized Peasant Programme signed in London in 1942 by representatives of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia. This differs from the rest in having a fairly clear social as well as economic basis. There are besides the racial conceptions of pan-Slavism and pan-Teutonism, both of which have regional aspects which, however, will not here be directly considered.

Before trying to assess the importance of some of these groupings, it seems worth while to examine briefly why one long-lived regional association finally collapsed. Frantisek Palacky, who has been called the father of Czech nationalism, is said to have been the first to declare that if Austria did not exist it would have been necessary to invent her. Had the Liberal movement of 1848 succeeded, Austria, with or without Hungary, might have been reconstructed as a genuine multinational federal State. But the interests of Liberal Austrian Germans were torn between Austrian problems and the contemporary struggle going on in Germany. Reaction triumphed, and probably the last chance of successful democratic reconstruction of Austria disappeared, though Dr. Rudolf Schlesinger holds that few Parties among the many peoples of Austria-Hungary were determinedly irredentist at the beginning of the war of 1914-18 and that, among the Czechs, even so late as 1917, there were few who believed a complete dissolution of the Hapsburg State possible or even desirable.

Mr. Ernest Bevin lately said that he was one of those who had thought the old Austro-Hungarian empire economically right and politically wrong. Many would accept that verdict as it stands, but it needs critical examination. Inappropriateness of Austro-Hungarian political institutions made collapse inevitable, but lack of economic cement made reconstruction impossible. The Hapsburg dynasty and the Magyar Lords between them had effectively prevented the growth of political institutions corresponding to the wishes of the various nationalities submerged in the empire; but had economic development been more intelligently undertaken, it seems unlikely that the only durable link between the Succession States would have been hostility to the return of the Hapsburgs. On the other hand, this very fact is a warning against uncritical enthusiasm for regional schemes which are based only, or primarily, on supposed obvious economic advantages. Many factors contribute to making a nation. It would be rash to assume that the foundations of regional groupings are less complex, or that, if shared history, including a long common struggle against the Turkish invader, failed to produce a regional group which survive the removal of centralist oppression and reaction, mere theory of common advantage will do as a substitute, especially if the need does not seem desperately urgent.

We may perhaps digress further and examine why when Austria, one multi-

national State, perished in 1918, another, Russia, survived and grew immensely stronger in spite of initial partition. Briefly the main causes of Russian success, which may be studied in detail in Dr. Schlesinger's recent book,* seem to be Great Russian predominance—in Austria, no nationality came near to forming a majority of the population—; the colonial character of a great part of the Czarist empire ; identification of the revolutionaries with oppressed peoples and classes; satisfaction of the economic demands of the underprivileged; the genuine enthusiasm of the leaders of the October Revolution (not least M. Stalin, the Georgian) for national equality, and, above all, the driving energy of the Communist party. Outside Russia it would be necessary to recreate these conditions in order to make multinationalism succeed in any given region, and in view of the more developed national consciousness of the peoples involved, it is doubtful whether even acceptance of Communism would be enough by itself. Compulsion would almost certainly be necessary, though this, of course, could take many forms not all of which might be obvious.

III

From multinationalism which failed and multinationalism which succeeded, we turn back to some of the many regional proposals already mentioned. It is suitable that plans for a region of all Europe (Russia and possibly also Britain excluded) should be examined first. It is unnecessary to suppose that the larger the group, the more difficult the task of forming it. For many of these schemes, statistics of mutual trade are quoted. Those for what we may call the domestic trade of Europe as a whole are not least impressive. Culturally, Europe, in spite of diversities, exhibits a more harmonious pattern than does All-America. Turning to defence, we may admit that it would certainly not be more difficult to provide national contingents for a European army or police force, which might serve as a joint European contingent in the international force at the disposal of U. N. O., than to contribute these contingents separately to U. N. O. But objections immediately spring to mind. Most recent conflicts have originated inside Europe. From the rather risky assumption that they will not do so in future, it follows that Europe is organized for defence against some outside aggressor. The number of possibilities is limited and the organization, if strong would be provocative, if weak tempting.

Leaving aside for the present economic objections to what would tend to become a closed area, we may pass on to an objection which is almost certainly decisive: a united Europe would revolve round Germany. That would be so even if Germany were kept disarmed and split up and if its industries were controlled by the partners. Either the disabled giant would rise to his feet with general consent or he would shake off his chains. Europe dominated and organized by a Germany which had cast aside chauvinist sentiment might be a world asset. But practical experience of Europe under German leadership makes such a solution wholly unacceptable. Hitler's New Order was

* *Federalism in Central and Eastern Europe*, London, 1945.

the culmination of the United Europe projects. To say that it was bad because Fascist, does not prove that it would be better because Communist or even Liberal-democratic. It could not survive without compulsion. Europe as a whole, therefore, seems an unsuitable region. We do not propose to consider whether it could more readily be organized as a federation of regions.

Discussion of Austria-Hungary has supplied criteria for examining the various proposals for reorganizing Central and Eastern Europe. The only effective unifying agency visible there at present is Russia. While Russia's policies are unaltered, it is likely to remain so. Such war-time projects of confederation as the Czecho-Polish and the Graeco-Yugoslav have gone with the wind that blows over the steppes. Framed in exile by men not all of whom were in touch with popular feeling in their respective countries, they are inappropriate to present political circumstances in spite of their many good points. The Czecho-Polish arrangement is specially impracticable. Though some propagandists for this and similar ideas hopefully supposed that Russia would welcome a middle bloc—'a strong and friendly group of States capable and determined to resist German aggression'—Russia has shown very plainly that she does not. We may even suppose that it is not purely accidental that the present Governments of Poland and Czechoslovakia, both friendly to Russia, both socialistically inclined, have discovered more causes of difference than of unity.

A Danubian federation is at present impracticable. Whether it would be so were Russian influence removed can only be guessed. Its most obvious basis would be something like the peasant programme mentioned earlier, but industrial development of the more backward countries would tend to cause cleavage. It has to be seen whether the present peasant-worker compromise in Austria will be any more durable than the last. It is worth noticing however, as a guide to future possibilities, that the peasants have been politically successful in Hungary and, though the common lists of unified parties make it difficult to disentangle separate interests in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, it is reasonable to suppose that peasants as such remain a strong political force there too. Meanwhile a different tendency is at work. If, with Russia's blessing, the Communist-dominated Governments of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria settled the old quarrel over Macedonia, partly at Greek expense, and formed a union of Southern Slavs, realization of a larger Danubian or Balkan project would become much more difficult.

The proposal of a Latin bloc may, we think, be summarily dismissed. It seems to begin and end in the fertile brain of M. Paul-Boncour, though some have said that Gen. de Gaulle favoured it. Without a change of régime in Spain it is obviously impossible and, if the past attitudes of the proposed partners towards one another persist, even the elements of closer union seem absent. A Scandinavian bloc, though in many ways easiest to arrange and most sensible and practical, seems equally unlikely. The chief obstacle here is that the three countries combined would not have the resources or the population of a Great Power and, with exposed frontiers, there would be no gain in security. Economic arrangements seem scarcely more useful, in view of the

great dependence of Denmark on foreign trade and of Norway on shipping for the international market.

IV

Thus is reached the regional project which is most persistently canvassed and most fiercely criticized, that for a Western bloc. To judge by a recent statement of Mr. Bevin's it would appear that the chief, almost the only obstacle to this is Russian opposition. We are not sure that this is so, even though it is plain that Russia has little liking for it and that Communists, in the West, taking their tune from Russia, have even less. It is not altogether clear what is meant by a Western bloc; there are several versions. Common to most, however, is the scheme that Britain and France, with smaller associates should combine for defence and other purposes, sometimes clearly sometimes vaguely set out. Of regional projects in general it is often and, we think, correctly maintained that close relations should be between approximate political equals, though not all who argue thus have pushed their conclusions far enough and seen that it is advisable also that ideologies and the constitutions which express them should be similar (so that in joint organs there is no possibility of a totalitarian member voting down democratic members whose delegations tend to express diverse views) and that economic and social organization should correspond so that there is no possibility of unwanted domination by one interest or class. Be this as it may, participation of a Great Power is fatal to regional projects of federation or confederation. What it produces is a sphere of influence, which may have advantages for all participating, but whose essence is inequality. In the Western bloc, however, there would be not one Great Power but two and some think that their influence would cancel out. What good that would do is difficult to see. It would seem to weaken all common endeavour and might lead to complete deadlock. Presumably, however, what is hoped for is persistent mutual accommodation which the smaller States-members would foster as best as they could in their own interests. Even so, the basis of the plan is Anglo-French alliance, by whatever name it may be called, so that the plan stands or falls by that.

Mr. Churchill's dramatic offer of union between Britain and France was made in the face of imminent danger to both. Some have deduced from this that the only effective spur to regionalism is crisis threatening partners temporarily engaged in the same task, usually the task of war. Offers made in such circumstances have been well described as 'the product not of complete unity of purpose but of anxiety for more complete unity.' As between Britain and France the mood has passed and may recur only in conditions similar to those which originally created it. However, the memory remains and if it is considered that union, either when proposed by Mr. Churchill or earlier, would have prevented war or led to earlier victory, it should serve to encourage similar projects.

It is time to consider one such plan in detail. We choose the scheme published in the *Economist* in June 1945 and lately conveniently re-published by the (British) National Peace Council. Closer association between Britain, France,

Holland and Belgium, and possibly part of Scandinavia too, is here described as 'a first strategic priority in all planning for security after the war.' (Apparently, however, this view is based on a premature reading of modern developments in the art of war; aircraft and armoured weapons make 'the whole of Europe west of the German frontier—one might as well say west of the Elbe—... too small to form more than a single strategic area.' The Atom bomb and the rocket perhaps make that true of the whole world.) Supplies would be pooled, equipment standardized; conscription would be applied in all member-States. A single defence force would be 'the full answer,' but if that is impracticable much could be done by assignment of tasks and co-ordination through a joint Chiefs-of-Staffs Commission.

The phrase 'west of the Elbe' is worth noting. Participation of at least Western Germany seems to be hinted at. It is said too that, 'if the countries of Western Europe with their colonial dependencies were to co-operate, their territories would girdle the earth, and on every Continent and in every sea they would be in control of airfields and naval bases from which to guard the peace of the world.' A Western Association is described, in language reminiscent of that used by Poles about the Middle Bloc, as 'far from constituting a menace to Russia' and as 'a strengthening of the existing Anglo-Soviet and Franco-Soviet Pacts.' But what has been quoted above explains Russian doubts. It is besides improbable that collaboration extending through colonial dependencies could accurately be called a regional arrangement (though it might include several of these) and plainly, whatever it had to recommend it from the point of view of the participants or that of world security, it could not be regarded as meant for the defence of Western Europe only.

Economic arguments are that the countries named are all dependent to a high degree on foreign trade and also to a high degree on trade with each other, and that they are all interested in policies of social security and full employment. Statistics of trade are given, and it is interesting to find that not only the colonies but also the British Dominions and India are included. Trade with Germany is added to the total. Indeed, it is frankly declared to be possible that 'Germany, or at least western Germany, would also be associated, voluntarily or involuntarily, with the policy,' that is to say, the economic policy. Lest, however, it be thought, by the U. S. A. for example, that what is aimed at is a closed economy, that is expressly denied: 'Political principle and physical circumstances are alike opposed to it.' A reference to 'what Ottawa should have been, not what Ottawa was' is presumably meant to reassure; but since it is accompanied by suggestions for mutual reduction of tariffs and for exploring loopholes in 'the most-favoured-nation barrier,' reassurance is unlikely. Finally it is said in words that remind us of the Briand Plan (or the U. N. O. Charter for that matter) that the peoples of Europe are in no mood to accept freely a diminution of their sovereignty. But the 'modest beginnings,' of a military alliance and a far-reaching commercial treaty might well lead through 'close and constant collaboration of policy-makers at every level' to 'such a network of collaboration that the practical objectives of a federal solution would be largely achieved.'

Such, then, is the outline of a typical regional project. Whether, though a step towards unity on a limited scale, it is also in the interests of the larger unity of the United Nations has to be considered. It is unlikely to be approved without qualification by either Russia or the U. S. A. More important to those who are immediately concerned is whether it is practical. Common arrangements for defence presuppose a common enemy. If part of Germany is to be voluntarily or involuntarily included in the association, obviously Germany cannot be that enemy. So it may seem that common arrangements for defence are unnecessary if not provocative. Economically the case is not so strong as it seems. Some have urged that Britain should develop closer relations with her neighbours as an alternative to accepting a loan from the U. S. A. on disagreeable terms. But this seems wholly impractical when the needs of the liberated countries are great and urgent and can be filled only with the help of the U. S. A. The same argument militates against a Western economic bloc.

V

We have glanced at the soil in which regional ideas were planted and have grown up. We have inspected some of these briefly and one at greater length. We might have done well to emphasize that plans differ, not only in content but also in extent, according as their origins are in political, economic, social, cultural or other considerations; but this is perhaps too great a complication. We have seen that the United Nations Charter has little to say about regional associations. In conclusion, this point may be examined in more detail.

The Charter expressly encourages the pacific settlement of local disputes by regional agencies and sanctions their employment for enforcement action under the authority of the Security Council in circumstances which are carefully defined. Though it creates no obstacles to their development, requiring simply that their activities should be consistent with the purpose and principles of the United Nations, and that the Security Council should be fully informed only of activities undertaken or in contemplation by them for the maintenance of international peace and security, it seems to take no interest in them except as organizations for military security. Even so the limitations imposed are not unimportant. The joint Chiefs-of-Staffs Commission mentioned in our summary of the project for a Western Association would presumably have to communicate its plans and decisions to the Security Council. Unless, however, the promoters of regional agencies have aims inconsistent with those of the United Nations in mind, there should be no objection to this. But what seems fairly clear is that in the Charter regionalism in its wider aspects is regarded as something to be tolerated rather than encouraged. Were regional administrations or quasi-administrations to become numerous, the Charter and the Organization might have to be recast, so that they, rather than separate nations, would be represented. Of such development, however, there is yet no sign. Instead there are growing up spheres of influence which, though in a sense regional, are properly regarded as expansion of existing world power-systems. About these the Charter has nothing to say.

THE PAN-ARAB LEAGUE

By I. H. BAQAI

THE Arab League is now almost a year old. Since its formation in March last year it has considerably grown in strength and is now well established in its permanent headquarters at the Boustan Palace in Cairo. Its voice in international affairs carries the weight of an acknowledged representative of the entire Arab World and is being gradually recognized by other Powers as a most effective agency for peace and stability in the Middle East. There is anxiety to win its friendship and to influence its policies. The League, however, is lucky to know its own mind on vital issues that concern the Arab World and there is a general unanimity of opinion about them amongst its members. The creditable part played by the Arab delegation at the San Francisco Conference and the Security Council was a great deal due to this unity and uniformity achieved by the League.

This unity was long overdue. For no two peoples are so close to each other as those living in the area generally described as the Middle East: they have strong natural ties of a common language, rich in literature and thought; common historical traditions, which successfully overcome local differences and dynastic feuds; and a common religion, in which even non-Muslim Arabs take pride as the best contribution of the Arabs to the world. These helpful factors for unity were always there and the unity achieved should, therefore, be taken as natural and spontaneous and not as patterned on any outside movement or inspired by any foreign Power.

During the first world war Arab countries were swept by a 'wave of nationalism.' Arab 'nationalism,' however, sought not only the independence of a number of small Arab States, but also Arab unity. At the peace conference of 1919 the Arab leader Amir Faisal not only stressed the claims of the Arabic-speaking peoples of Asia to independence but also pleaded for their unity, laying special emphasis on the cultural, geographical and economic factors that made for cohesion amongst them. For the Arab independence and unity went together and therefore the picture of the Arab World as it emerged from the last war was far from satisfactory from this point of view. By the post-war settlements the Arab lands were sub-divided into the Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Trans-jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia (as it was known in 1925 after the unification of the two kingdoms of Ibn Saud), and the Yemen. These countries were promised independence according to the Hussein—MacMahon Letters of October 1915. But in 1916 Britain and France concluded the Sykes-Picot agreement which was wholly incompatible with the promises made by Sir Henry MacMahon to the Arabs. A new mandatory system was introduced and according to this Britain secured a privileged position in Iraq, Palestine and Trans-jordan, while France acquired a corresponding status in Syria and the Lebanon. The Sykes-Picot agreement thus put off the complete independence and union of Arab countries for thirty years. It was admittedly an act of injustice.

This division not only weakened the Arab States but also led to other artificial barriers to unity like frontiers, different dynasties in power, different systems of law, currency and other differences of administration. The Arab leaders were, however, alive to all these difficulties. Their ambition was to win freedom and achieve unity for the entire Arab World which now consisted of Egypt, the Sudan, Cyrenaica, Palestine, Trans-jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and the States of the Arabian peninsula in the east end of Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria and French and Spanish Morocco. Bitterness against France and Britain added a new factor to Arab nationalism and unification movement in the post-war world.

Working on these lines a conference was held in Jerusalem in December 1931. Delegates to this conference formulated a covenant which proclaimed the Arab lands to be an indivisible whole and that unity and complete independence were the goals, to which all Arab efforts were to be directed. Arab solidarity was further demonstrated by the interest shown by the rulers of Arab countries in the Palestine question.

Two other events during the thirties greatly helped in the Arab unity movement. One was the Treaty of Taif concluded between King Ibn Saud and Imam of the Yemen in June 1934. This peace treaty, while confirming Ibn Saud's power and suzerainty, also greatly advanced the Arab cause for unity. This was the aim of this treaty and it was, therefore, described in the preamble as a 'Treaty of Moslem and Arab brotherhood, to promote the unity of the Arab nation, to enhance its position, and to maintain its dignity and independence.' A similar treaty was concluded with Iraq in April 1936 and in May Ibn Saud also made a Treaty of Friendship with Egypt. These treaties became the nucleus of a great Arab league.

Egypt was by now coming to the forefront as leader of the Arab World. The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 made Egypt an independent State and released her to take a leading part in Arab politics. Meanwhile Arab opinion was being more and more consolidated about Palestine and it appeared that, if for no other reason, the Palestine question alone would unite all Arab countries into a solid bloc. The Palestine Conference, held in London in 1939, clearly exhibited this unity.

The break out of the second world war in September 1939 once again brought forth the strategic importance of the Middle East. Feverish propaganda was done from both sides to win the friendship and support of the Arab countries. To the British strategy, the Middle East is of the greatest importance—a fact recognized since Napoleon's defeat in the battle of the Nile. To Germans, the possession of this area was the key to world power. Among Arab countries there was a desire for neutrality. In the first war they had helped the Allies and the result had been French rule in Syria and the immigration of large numbers of Jews into Palestine. This had already created a very strong anti-British and anti-French feeling among them. Moreover German propaganda had won many Arab leaders who rightly or wrongly believed that they stood to gain by an Axis victory. But for Iraq, which declared war against Britain in 1941, all other Arab countries,

however, remained neutral and even in Iraq the Pro-Axis régime was soon ousted and was replaced by a pro-British Government which in 1943 brought the country into the war on the side of the United Nations.

War brought forth other problems too for the United Nations. The first and foremost was of supply. With the virtual closure of the Mediterranean to merchant shipping in 1941, the British decided to make the Middle East a self-contained economic unit. The Middle East Supply Centre was created to achieve this end. The Centre was a great success. It fostered and co-ordinated industrial expansion and showed to the Arab leaders the advantages of planning and regional collaboration. Another practical factor, which during the war made for closer union, was the building by the army of military roads linking more thoroughly Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq. The construction of the railway from Haifa to Beirut and Tripoli in Syria fully connected Egypt, the Middle East and Turkey.

The world war II thus greatly stimulated the Arab unity movement. The British Government welcomed and encouraged the idea of an Arab union. At the Mansion House on 29 May 1941 Mr. Eden said: 'It seems to me both natural and right that cultural and economic ties between Arab countries, yes, and political ties too, should be strengthened. His Majesty's Government, for their part, will give their support to any scheme that commands general approval.' In reply to a question in the Parliament on 24 February 1943 he said: 'As they have already made plain, His Majesty's Government would view with sympathy any move among the Arabs to promote their economic, cultural or political unity. But clearly the initiative would have to come from the Arabs themselves, and so far as I am aware no such scheme, which would command general approval, has yet been worked out.' This second statement produced wide interest in Arab unity. It also received a great impetus from the personal interest of King Farouk in an Arab Union.

On 30 March 1943 Nahas Pasha made a statement in the Egyptian Senate asking the Arab Governments to make a general examination of the whole problem. He believed that it was the duty of the Egyptian Government to take the first steps by making official approaches to all the other Arab Governments with a view to ascertaining their individual points of view, before inviting them to a formal meeting at Cairo.

In Iraq General Nuri Pasha welcomed Mr. Eden's statement. A branch of the Egyptian Arab Union Club was opened in Baghdad and there was general support for an Arab Union. In July 1943 Nuri Pasha reached Cairo to have discussions with Nahas Pasha. Similar interest was shown by the Palestinian Arabs and by King Ibn Saud who said: 'There are no differences among the Arabs, and I believe that with Allied aid they will be united after the war.' The Syrian Parliament also passed a resolution on 26 August 1943 asking the Syrian Government to work for the attainment of a confederation of Arab States and the future unification of Arab countries.

Interest was also aroused in the Arab countries of North Africa. The Arab

press in Tangier pointed out that Arabs in Morocco also desired to be included in the scheme of Arab unity.

In August 1943 Nahas Pasha asked the Arab Governments to send their representatives to Cairo for further discussions. As a result of these discussions it was decided to hold a conference of all the Arab countries (excepting Saudi Arabia and the Yemen) in Alexandria on 25 September.

The inaugural meeting was attended by the five delegations from Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Trans-jordan, each headed by the Prime Minister of its country. Renewed invitations were sent to Ibn Saud and Imam Yahya who ultimately agreed to send their representatives to the conference. Musal-Alami came to represent the Arabs of Palestine. The Conference lasted till 7 October when the various resolutions were signed.

The Protocol containing the text of the resolutions was issued in a *communiqué* by Nahas Pasha. The resolutions fall under five headings:—

1. *The League of Arab States*—This would consist of such independent Arab States as wished to join it, and would have a Council in which the States would be represented on a footing of equality. The functions of the Council would be (i) to execute inter-State agreements; (ii) to organize periodical conferences; (iii) to protect, by all possible means, their independence and sovereignty against aggression; and (iv) to concern itself generally with the affairs and interests of the Arab countries. The Council's decisions would be binding only to States which accepted them; but if two members agreed to refer a dispute to the Council for settlement they must then abide by its decision. In any event the use of force to settle disputes between one member and the other would be prohibited. No member would be permitted to pursue a foreign policy prejudicial to the policy either of the League or of any of its member States, but within this limit members would be free to conclude agreements with other members or with non-members. In any dispute likely to lead to war between one member and another or between a member and a non-member the Council would mediate with a view to reconciling the parties. The statutes of the League Council would be drafted by a Commission, to be formed without delay from the members of the Preparatory Committee; this Commission would also examine possibilities of the conclusion of agreements between the Arab States.

2. *Co-operation for economic, cultural, social and other purposes*—The States would co-operate closely in economic and financial affairs, including commercial exchanges, tariffs and currency policy, agriculture and industry; in the field of communications, including railways, road and air-transport, post and telegraph; in cultural matters; in questions of nationality, passports visas, execution of judicial decisions and extradition; in social questions; and in the sphere of public health. For each category in the above list, a Commission of experts would be formed to draft a plan formulating the methods, scope and machinery of co-operation. The work of this Commission would be integrated and supervised by a Co-ordinating and Drafting Commission, which would prepare the resolutions, in the form of draft agreements, for submission to the Governments,

3. *The future strengthening of these bonds*—The Preparatory Committee expressed the hope that, following this first success, the Arab countries would proceed to consolidate it by other achievements.

4. *Decisions with particular reference to Lebanon*—The Arab States represented on the Preparatory Committee unanimously affirmed their respect for the independence and sovereignty of Lebanon within her present frontiers, Lebanon having followed a policy of independence proclaimed by her Government in the ministerial programme which secured the unanimous approval of the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies on 7 October 1943.

5. *Decisions with particular reference to Palestine*.—(a) The Committee considered that Palestine was an important part of the Arab world, and that the rights of the Arabs in Palestine could not be infringed without danger to the peace and stability of the Arab World. At the same time it regarded 'the engagement assumed by Great Britain' in the White Paper of 1939, as constituting 'acquired rights for the Arabs.' These engagements were enumerated as the stoppage of Jewish immigration, the protection of Arab lands and the preparation of Palestine for independence; their execution would be a step towards peace and stability. The Committee proclaimed their support for the realization of Palestine's legitimate aspirations and the protection of her rights. (b) The Economic and Financial Commission was asked to examine a proposal to the effect that the Arab Governments and peoples should contribute to the 'Arab National Fund' for saving the lands of Palestine, and to submit its conclusions to the next meeting of the Preparatory Committee.

The publication of this Protocol was favourably received in the press of all Arab States. The delegates on returning to their respective countries gave detailed accounts of the Conference to their people. There was an all round enthusiasm for the proposed Arab League. Moreover the Lebanese crisis of November 1943 had further strengthened the desire for the Arab unity.

The plans to hold an early meeting of the Preparatory Committee were held up for sometime by the general election in Egypt. The new Government in Egypt headed by Dr. Ahmed Maher Pasha, however, showed equal keenness for Arab unity. Meanwhile, negotiations with King Ibn Saud and Imam Yahya to obtain their agreement to the Protocol continued. Abdur Rahman Azzam Bey, the Egyptian Minister for Arab Affairs, who was appointed Azmir-al-Hajj last year, remained behind in Saudi Arabia after the completion of the Hajj in order to discuss this question with King Ibn Saud. On 3 January he advised the Egyptian Prime Minister that the King had ordered his representative to sign the Protocol. The Imam of Yahya also agreed and sent his representative Sheikh-al-Kubsi to sign the Protocol.

On 13 January the Egyptian Foreign Minister issued an invitation to the Foreign Ministers of Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Trans-jordan, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen to a meeting at Cairo to draft the constitution of the League of Arab Nations.

The Conference of Foreign Ministers was opened at Cairo on 8 February

by Nuqrashi Pasha, the Egyptian Prime Minister, Abdur Rahman Azzam Bey, the Minister for Arab Affairs, also assisting. Musa-al-Alami took part as an observer on behalf of the Arabs of Palestine at the invitation of the Conference. The constitution of the League was drawn up by M. Pharaon and distributed to the members of the Conference. At the 17th and final meeting on 3 March the constitution was discussed and signed. It was announced that this draft constitution would be submitted to a meeting of the Preparatory Committee on 17 March. The Preparatory Committee was duly convened on 17 March and on the 20th it transformed itself into the general Arab Congress. The Constitution, after being approved in its definitive form, was signed on the 22nd by representatives of six of the seven Foundation Members of the League. The representative of the Yemen could not arrive in Cairo in time to sign the Constitution, but the name of the Imam appeared in the preamble of the Covenant together with the names of the heads of the other States.

The formation of the League was well received by the Arab as well as non-Arab countries. Its enthusiastic secretary Abdur Rahman Azzam Pasha envisages a great future for it. It has already made its voice felt in matters affecting the Arab world and strongly pleaded for British evacuation from Egypt, for Anglo-French evacuation from the Levant States, for the declaration of Palestine as an Arab State and the stoppage of Jewish immigration and for the independence of Tripolitania. On all these issues, whether affecting Syria or the Lebanon, Palestine or Tripoli, the Arab countries showed remarkable solidarity and even to-day they stand behind Egypt in her demand for the revision of her treaty with Britain. This solidarity has been the achievement of the League on the political side.

The League has not neglected the economic and cultural side. The Economic Committee of the Arab League appointed three sub-committees (*i*) to consider how to safeguard the interests of Palestinian Arabs in their landed properties; (*ii*) to make a survey of the agricultural conditions in the Arab countries, and (*iii*) to report on their commerce and industry. This committee was also to consider the question of customs and import duties and unification of currencies of the Arab countries.

On the cultural side the League has drawn up a cultural convention consisting of 24 sections. It is proposed to establish a permanent office of cultural relations, and it will hold sessions thrice a year in different Arab countries. Again, the exchange of professors and students and the encouragement of educational and scientific missions and the establishment of cultural and social clubs are contemplated. At the Working Committee of the Cultural Institute all Arab countries will have representation.

The two immediate problems before the League are firstly to prepare evidence and a statement of the Arab case to the Anglo-American Commission on Palestine and secondly to stress the urgency for the independence of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. The Arabs of North Africa have shown great interest in the formation of the Arab League and were very keen to join it. They have been fighting for their independence for more than thirty years and

are now insistent on it. In this demand they have the support of every Arab State.

Regarding the extension of the Arab League beyond its present membership, Azzam Pasha told a press correspondent that they had already made direct contacts with North Africa in the Spanish Zone and a delegation from Spanish Morocco came to Cairo to take part in the work of the League. He also stated that contacts would be made with non-independent Arabs in the French zone and with the Sheikhs of the Persian Gulf.

According to the constitution the non-Arab countries cannot join the League. But as all other States in the Middle East are predominantly Muslim, closer co-operation between them and the League will not be difficult. Instead of opposing a union of Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan—the basis of the Saadabad Pact of 1937—the League should welcome it as the two unions can co-operate in keeping off foreign aggression. The spectre of a third world war is looming large on the Middle East and there can be no safer guarantee of peace than the closer union of all peoples, Arabs and non-Arabs, in that area.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

THE POSITION IN MALAYA

By P. KODANDA RAO

I

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

SOON after the British reoccupation of Malaya in 1945, news of the economic and political conditions of Indians in the colony caused concern to the people and the Government of India. It seemed to confirm the presumption, generated by the first Indian National Army (I. N. A.) trials in India, that Indians in Malaya were, because of their connexions with the I. N. A. and the Indian Independence League (I. I. L.) and their relations with Japan, being neglected or victimized by the British Military Administration (B. M. A.) in Malaya. It was reported that the Indian intelligentsia in Malaya were arrested wholesale and subjected to intolerable humiliations and privations, that Indians were dying in the streets for want of food and medical attention and that the position of Indians had become worse since the British occupation. The Government of India was criticized for indifference to and negligence of the interests of Indian nationals in Malaya. The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, which met in Calcutta on 8 December, 1945, designated Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to visit Burma and Malaya.

THE KUNZRU DEPUTATION

As the first step in response to public opinion the Government of India appointed Mr. S. K. Chettur, I. C. S., as the Representative of the Government of India in Malaya. He visited Malaya in November 1945, toured the country

for a fortnight and returned to India to submit his report. The Government of India did not publish the report but issued a *communiqué* on 13 December, 1945 in which it offered to do its best to afford relief to those in distress and defend those who were put up for trial in Malaya and decided to depute the Hon. Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, member of the Council of State and of the Standing Emigration Committee, and the present writer to visit Malaya.

The Kunzru deputation was, because of its non-official personnel, free from official leading-strings; it could, for instance, criticize the policy of the Government of India itself, and not be merely its mouth-piece or apologist. Its task was primarily to investigate immediate, rather than long-term, needs and policies.

The Deputation reached Singapore by air on 28 December, 1945 and left it on 30 January, 1946, thus spending in all nearly five weeks in Malaya. It resisted pressure to stay longer, for it felt that if any good was to come out of the mission, the sooner it returned to India, the better. As it was, it was able to visit most of the relevant places and meet most of the people concerned from Singapore in the south to Jitra in the north, a few miles from the Siamese frontier. Among others it visited several prisons, the Reformatory, the I. N. A., the Ramakrishna and the B. M. A. Relief camps, orphanages and destitute camps, non-official Indian Relief Camps, the Indian Municipal housing and Relief Hospitals in Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Ipoh, Batu Gajah, Kuala Kamsar, Penang, Paula Jarajak and Jitra. It visited several rubber estates and interviewed their managers and workers. It also had discussions among others with the Chief of Staff of the Supreme Allied Commander S. E. A. C. and the Chief Civil Affairs Officer on his staff, the G. O. C., Malaya Command, the Chief Civil Affairs Officer, Malaya and the heads of the Departments of Labour, Medical Services, Finance, General Security Investigation, and Superintendents of Jails, of I. N. A. camps and the B. M. A. Relief Camps, besides non-officials like Mr. N. Raghavan, Mr. K. P. K. Menon, leaders of Labour Unions, representatives of commerce and a variety of others too numerous to mention. The Deputation was given adequate facilities to meet the Indian prisoners in jails by themselves without the presence of jail authorities, and to seek information from official and non-official sources, for which it is indeed very grateful to all concerned. It was, however, somewhat handicapped for want of its own transport.

THE BACKGROUND

It is noteworthy that in Malaya the Chinese form the largest racial group. In 1940, they constituted about 43 per cent of the population. The Malays come next, constituting about 41·5 per cent and the Indians come third, forming about 14 per cent. But of the total labour force, employed on the rubber estates and in mines, factories and Government departments in 1940 the Indians constituted the largest group numbering about 278,000 while the Chinese came next, numbering about 165,000 and the Malays came last, numbering only about 47,000. The great bulk of Indian labourers were working on the rubber estates, the rest were working for

government and municipalities. About 83 per cent of the total Indian population were Tamils from South India. The corresponding figures since the British occupation are not available.

During the early days of the Japanese military rule, Indians were, on the whole, treated better than the Chinese. The latter, because of their race and sympathies with China, were treated as enemy aliens and persecuted. The Indians, on the other hand, were, because of their hostility to British imperialism in India, treated as friends. But when the Japanese decided to build in desperate hurry the railway to connect Siam with Burma, they pressed into service not only some of the prisoners of war of all races and nationalities, but also some free men. It was estimated that about 85,000 Indian labourers were snatched away from Malaya. With their departure, the earnings of their families decreased, causing hardship and privation. The Japanese did not damage or destroy the rubber estates. They cleared a few acres here and there in order to grow food crops like *ragi*, tapioca, etc. But they gave priority to other work, more vital for the prosecution of the war, and comparatively speaking, neglected the rubber estates. During the Japanese occupation, there were no imports from India of goods used by Indians, particularly clothing used by Indian women. The medical service was disorganized. The European managers of the estates had either fled the country or become prisoners of war. The estates were left in charge of Indian assistant managers, who did their best to keep the estates going with depleted labour force, limited finance, rising prices, increasing scarcity of consumer goods and galloping inflation.

Of the Indian labourers compelled to go to Siam for building the railway, it was estimated that about 50 per cent perished on the line! The tragedy is graphically epitomized in the saying that 'for every railway sleeper of the "Death Railway" an Indian labourer slept in death.' The survivors were in a pitiable condition; diseased and debilitated, they were more dead than alive. Some of them had fled to the jungles to escape death on the railway.

RELIEF

Soon after occupation of Malaya, the B. M. A. was faced with the problem of relief. The survivors of the 'Death Railway' were collected in relief camps in Siam in the first instance and then transferred by rail and ship to relief camps in Malaya.

In Malaya there were, in all, 17 relief camps run by the B. M. A. Some of these camps had been started earlier, during the Japanese regime, by the Indian community or the I. L. L., and subsequently transferred to the B. M. A. There is still one relief camp run by Indians in Kuala Kamsar. The Ramakrishna Mission has been running a relief camp as well as an orphanage in Singapore, and has been doing very good work and deserves encouragement and assistance. It may be added that the Servants of India Society has given a donation of about Rs. 10,000 to the Mission.

FOOD

The Tamil workers are particular about rice as the staple food; they look askance at wheat or other substitutes. But there was not enough rice to go round. Even in the best pre-war days, Malaya imported about two-thirds of its requirements of rice. Today there is world shortage of it. There was, no doubt, surplus rice in Siam, but Malaya was not the sole claimant to it. The Anglo-Siamese Treaty, signed in Singapore on 1 January, 1946, added unwittingly to the difficulty of securing the surplus. The British Government demanded a million and a half tons of rice from Siam as reparations. It was not to be expected that any country would be enthusiastic about delivering reparations. America intervened to soften the exaction. If only because of world shortage, had Britain offered to purchase Siam's rice for cash or exchange it for other goods, it was probable that Siam would have more readily released her rice surplus. It would appear that an exchange policy has since been adopted, textiles being exchanged for rice. It might have been done earlier.

Unsatisfactory and inadequate transport was another limiting factor. The railway line between Siam and Malaya has been severely damaged by the British forces, particularly the R. A. F. Time was needed to restore the line. It would appear that there is a bar at the mouth of the Menam river. Formerly it was dredged regularly to permit ocean-going ships to reach Bangkok. But recently dredging was neglected with the result that goods had to be transported in small barges over the bar and then transferred to large ships in the open sea. This slowed down transport.

It would appear that, during the Japanese occupation, Indian labourers on the rubber estates were encouraged to grow *ragi* and other substitutes for rice. When the British occupied Malaya, they distributed free rice for some time whereupon the Indians abandoned *ragi* cultivation. Soon after, on account of rice shortage, the Government decided to give rationed rice to urban population only and deny it to the rural. This created a grievance among the Indians on the rubber estates. Government soon changed its policy and decided to reduce the ration but issue it to both urban and rural peoples. The reduction caused hardship to the Indian labourers, particularly as they had neglected *ragi* cultivation. Even if they restarted *ragi* sowing, it would take some months for the crop to come in. What was to happen in the meantime?

In some estates *ragi* cultivation was resumed. It would appear that the Harvard Estate which is owned by Americans, adopted an enlightened policy; it paid wages to the Indian labourers and set them to grow *ragi* and other food crops for their own consumption. It was greatly to be wished that the policy had been universally adopted.

The Malaya authorities had arranged to import 20,000 tons of wheat from Australia in addition to 25,000 tons of rice every month. The Kunzru Deputation advised the Indians to take kindly to wheat as supplementary food, if only because there was real shortage of rice which affected India also.

CLOTHING

There was an acute shortage of clothing, particularly of the type which Tamil men and women wear. There was no import of clothing from India during the war years nor has there been any since the end of the war. Most Indians were wearing worn-out clothing; some had only rags and tatters; some used gunny cloth; and some gunny rags. The condition of some women was pathetic indeed. India should, and perhaps could, rush to the rescue, particularly of women, in this matter. It would have been very helpful if some responsible officer of the Government of India had been put on special duty, solely for collecting clothing (old or new) and despatching it to Malaya.

MEDICAL AID

Under the Labour Code in Malaya, every rubber estate was under an obligation to provide medical aid to the labourers engaged therein. The organization was however disrupted during the war period and the Japanese occupation. At the outset of the British occupation the medical organization was in a disorganized condition. But efforts were being made to restore medical services as soon as possible.

Both the Government of India and the Indian National Congress had decided in December last to send fully-equipped medical missions to Malaya. It is a thousand regrets, however, that there has been agonizing delay in despatching them. The Government Mission under Lt. Col. T. S. Sastri, I.M.S., left Madras on 6 March; the Congress Mission has yet to leave India.

In its very nature relief of this kind is of an urgent character and brooks no delay. Speed is its essence. A more sympathetic and imaginative appreciation of the urgency of the relief would have cut out red tape altogether and rushed help to Malaya. Hunger will not wait for office files to go the long rounds; diseases will not be adjourned till doctors arrive.

THE 'NEW POOR'

Besides the widows and orphans of the thousands of Indian labourers who perished in Siam, and the more-dead-than-living survivors from Siam who were recuperating in the relief camps and gravitating back to the rubber estates, there was another class, the 'new poor,' which needed relief in the form of doles. The lower middle class had been hit hard. Some of its bread-winners had been killed; some others had lost their original jobs and not been re-employed, partly for political reasons. They had become destitute, as it were. It would appear that outdoor relief has been distributed by Regional Relief Committees at the rate of a maximum of 15 dollars per mensem. The Indo-Ceylonese Relief Committee, Kuala Lumpur, was reported to have given relief to 750 families, with over 2,600 women and children, to the extent of nearly 10,000 dollars by 17 January, 1946. The B. M. A. had contributed to the committee 12,657 dollars, and public subscriptions amounted to 1,500 dollars.

The Government of India had placed at the disposal of Mr. Chettur on

his first visit to Malaya in November 1945 one lakh of rupees for urgent relief work. He constituted Indian committees in several towns to recommend deserving cases for relief and placed certain sums at their disposal. Unfortunately, the money was not used to any appreciable extent. Some committees thought that they could give only one lump sum grant of about 15 dollars; others did not function at all. Mr. Chettur left for India in the last week of November and did not return for nearly two months. Expecting to return to Malaya anyday and everyday, he delegated no authority to the Assistant Agent to spend the relief money. With the result, the money which needed to be spent urgently lay idle during his absence. It was very unfortunate. The Government of India has authorized Mr. Chettur, since his return to Malaya, to spend on relief as much money as may be necessary and sanctioned the appointment of five Welfare Officers to organize relief adequately. It may be added that the Servants of India Society has lent the services of a member of the Society experienced in relief operations, particularly during the last Bengal famine, to supervise relief in Malaya.

DEVALUATION OF JAPANESE CURRENCY

The currency policy of the British authorities added to the distress of the people. Japanese currency was devalued, with the result that wages, savings and commercial transactions in Japanese currency became valueless at once. While wage-earners lost their wages, banks which in pre-war days obtained credits from, say India, and loaned monies to borrowers on the mortgage of their properties, had been repaid in inflated Japanese currency. They had in consequence lost their claims of the mortgaged properties but owed money to Indian banks; their assets disappeared, but their liabilities remained.

The devaluation of Japanese currency caused great hardship, particularly to the poorer workers who had no credit. The British policy was in striking contrast with the Japanese. The latter, while declaring the Japanese currency as legal tender, did not devalue British currency; on the other hand, they made them exchangeable at par at the outset.

REPATRIATION

There is a general, almost universal, desire on the part of Indians to return to India immediately. In pre-war days many Indians, including labourers, visited India once in three or four years. But since the commencement of the war, they were cut off from their kith and kin in India. Further, they had suffered greatly, compared with their condition in pre-war days. It is only natural that they should long to visit India once again to seek comfort and consolation, to recoup and recondition themselves. More than 15,000 Indians had already registered themselves for passages to India, and it is anticipated that many more would do so in the near future, if passage be available.

Shortage of shipping has, however, been the chief limiting factor. All Allied shipping is now controlled by a single organization in America, and it has many rival claims to consider. Ships, which in pre-war days transported Indian labourers to and from Malaya, were specially designed for such traffic and

carried food and other supplies appropriate for the type of passengers. During the war they were re-designed for transporting defence forces. They have now to be remodelled again for the original traffic. Hitherto no ship that left Singapore for, say Madras, was sure of reaching its scheduled destination. Half-way it might be ordered by radio to proceed to another port. On the other hand, it has sometimes happened that ships sailed without the full complement of passengers. Because of uncertainties of accommodation and the last-minute cancellation of passages previously booked, waiting passengers hovering in Singapore were occasionally able to snap up the vacant passages. And this created the impression that Singapore people were favoured and up-country people neglected.

More recently the passage situation has eased a bit, and more accommodation is being made available. In order to prevent undue advantage being given to Singapore, the Malaya authorities have proposed a percentage quota for each of the areas. Furthermore, non-official advisory boards have been created in Singapore and Kuala Lumpur to recommend the order of priorities for various categories of Indian passengers. The Singapore Committee had commenced operations, but not the one in Kuala Lumpur.

Indian labourers were entitled to free passages to India under certain conditions at the expense of the Indian Immigration Fund, which was raised from contributions made by the planters who engaged Indian labour and which amounted to 4.5 million dollars. There was some doubt if the Fund could be drawn upon at present, partly because the statutory authority competent to operate it was not there. The B. M. A. however agreed to draw on the Fund.

As has already been pointed out, a certain section of Indians other than labourers, who, in pre-war days, would have paid their own passages, were now unable to do so partly because of the devaluation of Japanese currency and partly because of unemployment. These also should be given free passages to India. It would appear from a statement of Mr. John Laycock, Chairman of the Malayan Evacuees Committee, that in the previous two years free passages were given to Europeans returning to England either from Malaya or India. In that case, there is every reason why the facility should be extended to the 'new poor' among Indians to return to India.

The cost of the free passages may be met from the Indian Immigration Fund, even if it meant stretching the law a little. Failing that, it should be met by the Government of India and non-official relief funds. In any event, the deserving people should at first be given free passages and the debiting of the cost may be considered and settled later; the former may not be postponed till the latter is settled.

Those who wish to pay their passages find that the fares have gone up considerably, from \$21 to \$52! It is desirable that more reasonable fares should be charged.

It is rather unfortunate that the B. M. A. in Malaya has introduced a very elaborate form which every Indian returning to India has to fill and affix his photograph to. He should also obtain the 'Remarks of Security Authorities.'

This is rather hard on the unfortunate repatriates, who are mostly illiterate labourers, who have suffered a great deal and long to return to India. That such people should secure the approval of Security authorities seems an unnecessary precaution. The Malaya Immigration authorities profess that these precautions were taken to protect India; it was a friendly accommodation desired by the Home Department of the Government of India. The present situation is however such that red tape should be eliminated, and extra facilities offered for speedy repatriation. The form should be simplified; it may be filled at leisure on the voyage. It should record information, and not act as a deterrent to repatriation.

WAGES AND PRICES

By its very character gratuitous relief must be limited in scope and duration. It is essential that as soon as possible people should be given work and wages rather than doles. In the pre-war days an Indian male labourer was paid a statutory wage of 50 cents per day, while the Chinese labourer, who worked on contract, received more. The B. M. A. adopted two scales of daily wages. Class A wage was 90 cents and was meant for heavy manual work. Class B was 70 cents and meant for lighter work. Though in theory the scale of wages is related to the type of work, in practice the higher wage is received by the Chinese and the lower by the Indian.

Though there has been an increase in the wage rate there has been a much greater rise in the prices of essential commodities. According to the Singapore Labour Union, the following were the unit prices of certain commodities in dollars and cents:

<i>Item</i>	1941	1945
Rice	0.05	0.90
Salt	0.03	0.80
Sugar	0.08	3.50
Coffee	0.05	0.30
Fish	0.43	3.50
Ragi	0.03	0.33
Matches	0.02	0.15
Maize	0.03	0.30
Soap	0.10	1.50
Cloth	0.30	6.00
Tapioca	0.01	0.10
Fire-wood	0.25	2.90
Cocoanut oil	0.10	0.50
Kerosene Oil	0.10	1.50
Sweet potatoes	0.02	0.10
Dry chillies	0.16	4.20

Though no increase in wages will catch up with the rise in prices as long as consumer goods are scarce, yet it would appear that some temporary in-

crease is justified. It may be a dollar a day. But that by no means meets the difficulties of the workers. It is necessary that available commodities should be rationed and supplied at controlled prices, at cost price or below cost price.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR RELIEF

There are people in India and Malaya who look to India to afford relief to the Indians in distress in Malaya. They do so partly because even in the best pre-war days they had not much confidence in the Malaya Government; today they have less of it. They suspect that the B. M. A. was influenced by recent political happenings in its measures of relief for Indians. They compare the standard of relief afforded to the Dutch refugees from Java, for instance, with that afforded to Indian refugees. Further, in the best pre-war days the Indians in Malaya, being largely labourers on estates, were the least resourceful and the most helpless; today their position is worse. The Malaya Government will not help the Indians as a community and the Indians cannot help themselves; therefore, India should help.

It would however be an unwise policy if India relieved Malaya of the responsibility for the relief of Indians in distress in that country; it is very unfair that Indians should be an asset to Malaya when they are well and a liability to India when they are ill. India is none too prosperous to afford it. It is the primary responsibility of Malaya Government to relieve distress among Indians in Malaya. The B. M. A. has acknowledged it. Furthermore, it is to the interest of Malaya Government as well as of the British planters that Indian labour should be rehabilitated as soon as possible, for the finances of Malaya and the profits of the rubber industry depend materially on the well-being of Indian labour on the estates.

Nevertheless, in the present extraordinary circumstances, when the world has become one in many respects, and the food and shipping needs of the world, for instance, are being controlled by single Combined Boards for each, it is proper and desirable that India should send supplementary relief to Malaya, without weakening the primary responsibility of the Government of Malaya. It is true that India has no surplus but only scarcity to share, but it will be very significant if only as a gesture, a token of India's abiding interest in her nationals in Malaya.

II

COLLABORATION

ARREST FIRST; INVESTIGATE AFTERWARDS

Another aspect of the immediate Indian problem in Malaya which has caused grave concern to India refers to the Malaya Government's policy towards Indian 'Collaborators' with the Japanese. When the British reoccupied Malaya, His Majesty's Government laid down its policy towards collaborators, which was apparently to apply to all the South-East Asia. Ring-leaders among the political renegades should be prosecuted at any cost; smaller fry should be ignored and persons guilty of brutalities and crimes against humanity should

be proceeded against. When the British arrived in Malaya they had, it would appear, a list of collaborators to be prosecuted. They also invited the public to give information to Government by 31 January, 1946 leading to the apprehension of collaborators. On receipt of information, they arrested a number of people and then proceeded to investigate. This policy was somewhat unfortunate; it is doubtful if it was inevitable. The information was not in all cases either genuine or sufficient to secure conviction even in the special courts established by the B. M. A. Some informers implicated people against whom they had personal or business grudges, and they had the satisfaction of seeing their opponents in jail and their families in disgrace and distress. Some sought to divert suspicions from themselves and be accepted as 'good boys' by the British by implicating others. The large majority of those arrested were subsequently released after they had been in jail for weeks and months. Some were released unconditionally and others conditionally. The difference between the two was more psychological than legal.

ARRESTS

No accurate and authoritative figures of Indians arrested all over Malaya since the British occupation were, surprisingly enough, available at any one central office. The General Staff Intelligence (G. S. I.) as well as the B. M. A. civil police arrested people, but without co-ordination. According to the figures supplied in January to the Kunzru Deputation, the number of Indians arrested by the G. S. I. was 96. This was exclusive of the Indians arrested by the B. M. A. Civil Police and not reported to the G. S. I. and which was estimated at about 20. It is hardly creditable to the B. M. A. that nobody knew the total number of arrests, and could not collect them promptly.

Of the 96 arrests made by the G. S. I. 72 had been conditionally or unconditionally released by 17 January last, and some more have been released since. The period of detention varied—some were let off in weeks, others had to stay for months, some as many as four months—without being told of the charge against them. It was explained that the delay in some cases was due to the inadequacy of the investigating staff and the need for thorough interrogation and investigation before deciding to release or prosecute. The authorities were apologetic about the delay and offered to expedite matters. It is noteworthy that there was at least one judge who publicly protested against such detentions. Major D. M. Scott, Presiding Officer of the District Court, Ipoh, was reported in the *Sunday Times* of 20 January, 1946, to have said:

I am horrified to learn that this accused had been in custody since 4 October, 1945, and until today no charge had been preferred against him, nor had he been produced before any court. I regard this as a most flagrant and monstrous breach of a subject's right to personal liberty. . . . I understand that there are a number of other persons detained in the Ipoh police station who have not yet been charged, and some among them have been there continuously since 25 September, 1945. It is one of my duties as Presiding Officer of the District Court to protect people from treatment of this kind.

DIVERGENT POLICIES

The policy of H. M. G. regarding collaborators seems to have originally been common to India, Burma and Malaya. It seems to have undergone a change for the better both in Burma and India, but not in Malaya. In Burma there was a general amnesty of politicals, because, as was subsequently explained in the Indian Legislative Assembly by the War Secretary, Mr. Mason, 'in the first place, these Burmans were civilians; they were not soldiers and therefore had not taken the oath of allegiance. Secondly, they joined the Allies and fought against the Japanese in the closing stages of the campaign.' In India the original policy of H. M. G. was modified partly at any rate as the consequence of the first I. N. A. trials and agitation created in India over them. The Advocate-General, on behalf of the Government of India, admitted that there was strong evidence that the accused were motivated by patriotic and not pro-Japanese feelings, and suggested that it should be taken into account in passing the sentence. Subsequently, the Governor-General issued an ordinance amending Indian Army Act in order to permit the reviewing officer to commute the sentence of death or transportation for life which alone the Court Martial could inflict to any less punishment advisable under the Indian Army Act. The Commander-in-Chief, who is the reviewing officer, commuted the sentences of transportation to mere dismissal from the service. The Government of India further decided not to prosecute pure political collaborators. In Malaya, however, the original policy of H. M. G. was being followed.

TWO VIEWS

There was some difference of opinion among the authorities in Malaya over the merits of the policy. One view was that collaboration was an offence under the law and the law must take its course. It was the policy of H. M. G. to prosecute collaborators which the local authorities were not competent to modify. Local public opinion demanded it. Malaya was not bound to follow the modified policies of Burma and India. There were no local reasons for modifying or mitigating the rigour of the policy, which was just and proper and expedient. Indian civilians in Malaya had taken up arms against the British and collaborated with the Japanese. It was irrelevant that their motive was patriotic. In any event, Malaya was not the appropriate place for the display of Indian patriotism. Malaya could not follow one policy towards Indians and another towards other races. The accused, on conviction, might be pardoned or given lighter punishments, but their prosecutions should not be withheld. The least that should be done was to black-mark traitors and not let them off with unstained character.

The other view may be summarized thus: Malaya was surrendered to the Japanese by the British. The British Governor expressly advised the people to co-operate with the new rulers. On reconquest, the British Government should follow a uniform and the most enlightened policy in all the three territories and not three different ones. It was inadvisable to penalize an Indian in Malaya for action which was not considered an offence in India. It was

an utter contradiction that in India a soldier should be excused who forswore his allegiance to the King and actually fought the King's soldiers and killed some of them, but that in Malaya a civilian should be penalized for purely political collaboration with the Japanese, particularly when such collaboration was not intended to invite Japanese rule over Malaya but to win independence for India. Such collaboration was not different from the collaboration of the British with the Russians, it was solely for the purpose of defeating Germany but not to promote communism. In fact, no Indian, and for that matter no member of a subject race, could possibly be guilty of sedition or treason. If Generals like Lord Wavell and Sir Claude Auchinleck could, on balancing the pros and cons, condone Indian soldiers who waged war against the King, the Malaya authorities could very well condone the very much lesser offence of civilians talking sedition in Malaya. It would be wise for the Malayan authorities to pay due attention to the representations of the Government of India, and of the Indian people. India was fast developing politically and might soon be an independent Power. If India's opinion was contemptuously ignored by the Malaya authorities, India might be tempted to ignore the interests of Malaya and even retaliate. Malaya could not defend itself without the co-operation of India and India might refuse help. Malaya might need Indian labour to rehabilitate her rubber industry, and India might refuse it on political grounds, apart from economic and social considerations.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST INDIANS

The Deputation was not without hope that the Malaya authorities would adopt the half-way policy of India, even if it did not go the whole way of Burma and declare a general amnesty. It is far more important to ensure a better future than rake up the unhappy past. Whatever the policy of H. M. G. it is the officers on the spot that have to apply it to individual cases and use their discretion in so doing. There was considerable apprehension that the discretion would be used to the disadvantage of Indians.

It was unfortunate that the Government of India had no single co-ordinated policy. While the Commonwealth Relations Department, manned by Indians, was anxious to intervene, the Home Department of the same Government of India, manned by Britishers, was very lukewarm, if not unhelpful.

There was deep apprehension that the Malaya courts would not meet out even-handed justice, because several of the presiding officers had been prisoners of war and had suffered humiliations, when the Indian leaders were free and were even members of the Azad Hind Government which held sway over Malaya, if only for a brief while. They might find it hard to forget their humiliations and loss of prestige in the eyes of Indians and might be tempted, if only unconsciously, to self revenge in subtle ways. It was well, therefore, that the Government of India was able to send a panel of competent lawyers from India to undertake the defence of the Indian accused in Malaya, in spite of the political objections of the Malaya authorities and the professional objections of the lawyers in Malaya. It was thought that the trial of the pure collaborators would be proceeded with after the

arrival of the lawyers from India but their cases were postponed pending a reconsideration of the policy to be followed in regard to them. It was happily decided in March last to follow the policy laid down by the Government of India with regard to such persons and all of them, including Mr. S. C. Goho, were released. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the part played by H. E. the Viceroy in this connexion. It is due to the keen personal interest taken by him in this matter and the pressure brought to bear on H. M. G. by him that this happy result has been achieved.

INDIA TO THE RESCUE

Public opinion in Malaya was always weak; and is more so now under the B. M. A. Even in the pre-war days there was no political franchise; the legislative councils consisted primarily of officials and a few nominated non-officials. The position of Indians was never too good; it is worse now. Indian political life is subdued; some experienced leaders have felt so greatly discouraged that they were tempted to quit public life, quit the country altogether and return to India for good. Nothing has so hurt the feelings of the Indians more than the demolition of the memorial built in Singapore in honour of the Indians who died in the cause of Indian freedom as they understood it. One of the first acts of the British on reoccupation was to use Indian soldiers under a British officer to demolish it. It caused bitter resentment among the Indians, who saw in that action the temper of the British conquerors. Nevertheless, it would be disastrous for local Indian leaders to give up public life and quit the country. Their leadership was never more needed. New constitutional changes are impending; a Malaya union has been decided on. It is proposed to give franchise rights to all citizens, irrespective of race. The next five years will be crucial and critical. It would amount almost to betrayal if experienced Indian leaders should quit the country now; they should stay at their posts of trust and responsibility and help to shape the future of the country and secure the rights of Indians in full measure.

India should help them to do so. The most valuable help that India can give is mental and moral relief. It was well that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visited the country. Indian leaders in India should keep in constant personal touch with Indians in Malaya, at any rate for the next five years.

INDIA AND THE WORLD

THE UNITED NATIONS

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

THE first session of the General Assembly of the U. N. O. was opened by Mr. Attlee in London on 10 January 1946. Nearly 250 delegates from 51 nations were present. India was represented by Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Sir V. T. Krishnamachari and Sir S. E. Runganadhan with Mr. M. Ikramullah, Mr. M. K. Vellodi, Mr. R. S. Mani and Sir John Bartley as Advisers.

Welcoming the delegates Mr. Attlee affirmed that 'peace is indivisible.' He pleaded that the U. N. O. should become an overriding factor in foreign policy and enlist the support of the masses throughout the world to make her a living reality.

The first surprise of the conference was the election of M. Henry Spaak, Belgium's Socialist Prime Minister in 1938, as the first President of the General Assembly defeating M. Trygve Lie, the Norwegian Foreign Minister, who was proposed by Russia. Delegates from Russia, U. S. A., Britain, China, France, S. Africa and Venezuela were elected to the seven vice-presidencies. The Indian delegation was offered nomination to one of them but they declined on the ground, that, it was stated, it might prejudice India's chances of being elected to a more important post. Addressing the Assembly on 11 January 1946, Mr. Spaak urged the necessity of cultivating the international spirit. 'For years millions have suffered and sacrificed; we now ask for their reward peace' he said. Then followed the setting up of a number of committees—the General Committee, the Political and Security Committee, the Trusteeship Committee, the Economic and Financial Committee, the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee, the Legal Committee, the Credentials Committee and the election of their Chairmen. The Indian members distributed themselves as follows:

Political and Security Committee: Sir A. R. Mudaliar, Sir V. T. K. Chari and Ikramullah.

Trusteeship Committee: Sir V. T. K. Chari and Sir John Bartley.

Economic and Financial Committee: Sir A. R. Mudaliar, Vellodi and Ikramullah.

Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee: Sir A. R. Mudaliar, Sir Runganadhan and Mani.

Legal Committee: Sir V. T. K. Chari, Sir Runganadhan and Sir John Bartley.

Administrative and Budgetary Committee: Sir A. R. Mudaliar, Vellodi and Ikramullah.

On 12 January, Australia, Egypt, Holland, Poland, Brazil and Mexico were elected as non-permanent members of the Security Council. With the exception of Holland, all the elected countries were those proposed by the Ukrainian delegation. The Indian delegation did not even advance India's claim for a seat. This election of non-permanent members proved that no Great Power had any chance of imposing a resolution on the Assembly if two main small Power voting blocs united against it, for the two blocs consisting of the Central and South American Republics and the Middle Eastern Countries centred round the Arab League, possessed between them the possibility of virtually dominating a vote in the Assembly provided they voted the same way. Dr. Wellington Koo of China declared that Asia was not sufficiently represented geographically and expressed the hope that, when any vacancy occurred by retirement from the Council of any member, it would not be automatically replaced by a member from the same group. India was elected to the Social and Economic Council. The other elected members are Russia, Britain, the U. S. A., China, France, Canada, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Lebanon, Ukraine, Colombia, Peru and Cuba. Sir Mahomed Zafrullah Khan

was nominated for election as one of the 15 judges of the International Court of Justice. But he was not elected, for though he obtained a majority in the General Assembly, he could not obtain it in the Security Council.

Opening the general debate on the Report of the Preparatory Commission, Mr. Byrnes urged the Assembly to set the projected Atomic Energy Commission to work without delay and provide the Security Council with military power to enforce peace. Dr. Schermerhorn of Holland pleaded for the rapid establishment of the trusteeship system while Dr. Koo welcomed the idea of setting up a commission on narcotic drugs. Mr. Ernest Bevin announced the British decision to enter forthwith into negotiations for placing Tanganyika the Cameroons, and Togoland (the African mandated territories) under the trusteeship system, while pleading for the nomination of Britain as the trustee. He also announced the British intention to take steps in the near future to establish Trans-Jordan as a sovereign independent State. Pointing out that some of the provisions of the Charter, which must be carried out, were not yet being put into effect, M. Gromyko of Russia made particular mention of the provisions relating to non-self-governing territories.

Addressing the Assembly on 18 January, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar expressed his dissent from the generally held view that the Security Council was the most *powerful* body and asserted that it was not most powerful but most *responsible*. The Security Council was there in a negative way and he hoped it would never have to work in a positive way. If there was justice based on social equality, then the Security Council could go into recess leaving the field to the Social and economic Council. 'The impact of war has been felt by every individual and nation in this world, as much in Asia and the Far East as anywhere in Europe. I suggest the nations of Europe have got a new realization and a new understanding of the problems of the Indian people and a new outlook on the problem of non-self-governing territories and people The sooner non-self-governing territories come under the Trusteeship Council, the better.'

Mr. Badaway Pasha of Egypt referred to the absence of any recommendation or observation on regional ententes in the Report of the Preparatory Commission and suggested that the United Nations would spontaneously, and in conformity with the words of the Charter, place the colonies and protectorates which they now administered under the Trusteeship system. On 19 January, the final day of general debate Mr. Bidault of France announced that the French Government was prepared to agree to trusteeship administration for French Togoland and Cameroons provided that this had the approval of the native populations and did not weaken their 'rights in the French Community.' Urging the withdrawal of foreign troops in the Levant, the Syrian delegate questioned the propriety of the Anglo-French Agreement to the exclusion of the two small Powers (Syria and Lebanon) at a time when the U. N. O. was in session. M. Hamid Bey Fangie of Lebanon declared that the withdrawal of foreign troops was an essential condition of the well-being, security and development of the Lebanon's national life. Speaking as the first victim of Fascist aggression, Mr. Habte Wold of Ethiopia expressed the

hope that the Big Five would 'exert their influence in a just manner.' Criticizing the French and South African attitude, Mr. Peter Fraser of New Zealand declared that mandated territories did not *belong* to the mandatory Powers and that the United Nations could not start treating international agreements, as scraps of paper.

On 24 January the General Assembly unanimously decided to set up an Atomic Energy Commission to 'internationalize' the secrets of the atom. The Commission was charged with the task of preventing the destructive use of the atomic bomb and facilitating the international exchange of scientific information to foster peaceful application of the discovery. It was expected to proceed with its work in distinct stages and considerable time might elapse before the final system of full international control and supervision could be evolved.

On 1 February, the General Assembly elected M. Trygve Lie, as Secretary-General of the U. N. O. Taking office the following day, Mr. Lie pledged himself to an 'impartial approach' to all international problems and conflicts. The plenary session of the Assembly passed on 9 February a resolution that the present Spanish Government should be refused admission to the U. N. O. owing to its 'close association with the aggressor States.' It also passed the Trusteeship Committee's resolution on dependent peoples, which called for 'practical steps' by mandatory Powers to conclude trusteeship agreements by September 1946. The resolution called upon the colonial Powers to develop self-government of dependent peoples under their administration and to keep the Secretary-General informed on the social and economic conditions in territories other than mandates administered by them.

The Assembly adopted the report of the budgetary Committee and voted for an agreement by which member nations would undertake to exempt their nationals in the service of the U. N. O. from military service and national taxation. After rejecting three Russian proposals for restricting political activities of individuals in displaced prison camps, it also voted unanimously to investigate the European refugee problem.

On 13 February, Mr. Bevin introduced a resolution by the Big Five urging all the Governments to take drastic action to conserve food, to secure adequate collection of crops and to increase, as much as possible, the production of grain in the next few months and calling on them to publish all available information about how much food they could supply and how much they needed themselves. Speaking for India Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar recalled the Bengal famine and said: 'In the streets of Calcutta it was a common sight to get up in the morning and see women, children and men die. This terrible experience has burnt itself into our hearts....there was not one foreigner in India who was allowed to starve during that terrible famine....I appeal to my colleagues....to see that we need to keep body and soul together.' The Assembly passed the resolution unanimously. The first session of the Assembly concluded on 14 February with the closing speech of Mr. Attlee.

SECURITY COUNCIL

The first meeting of the Security Council was held on 17 January under the Chairmanship of Mr. N. J. O. Makin of Australia. In his presidential address, Mr. Makin stressed that they should undertake to settle international disputes by peaceful means and that one of the first tasks of the Council was to call the Military Staffs Committee into being.

On 21 January, the Russian delegation dropped a bombshell into the conference by asking that the situation in Greece be brought before the Security Council on the two-fold ground that the maintenance of British troops in Greece after the end of the war could not be explained by the necessity of protecting the communications of British troops in liberated countries and that their maintenance was becoming a means of political pressure on the internal situation in the country which was largely used by reactionary elements against the democratic forces therein. Similarly the Ukrainian delegation raised the question of Indonesia and urged the Security Council 'to carry out the necessary investigations and to take measures provided for the Charter' in order to put an end to the present situation. This double move was interpreted by Mr. Bevin as a counter-move to the British support of the Iranian complaint against Russia. On 25 January, the Council decided to place the Iranian, Greek and Indonesian issues on the agenda of its meeting on 28 January. Accordingly the Council took up the Iranian request for intervention under Article 31 of the Charter and permitted the Iranian delegates to attend the Security Council meeting while their case was being discussed. Presenting the Iranian case against Russia, its delegate charged the latter with military and civil interference in Iranian internal affairs. The Soviet refusal to allow the passage of Iranian security forces to Azerbaijan constituted a breach of the Tripartite Treaty of Alliance of 1942 and the Teheran Declaration. He denied that there was any propaganda hostile to the Soviet Union. The Soviet delegate asserted that as a matter of fact the presence of Soviet troops was quite legitimate in terms of the Soviet-Iranian Treaty of 1942 and that this presence was wrongly represented as a violation of Iranian sovereignty, and added that events in Azerbaijan were a demonstration of the popular aspiration for national autonomy within the limits of the Iranian State. He insisted that such questions as affected the relations between two neighbouring States like Russia and Iran could and should be settled by means of bilateral negotiations between the Soviet and Iranian Governments. After an acrimonious debate on the issue whether or not the Persian question should formally remain on the agenda of the Council while the negotiations were going on, the Security Council decided unanimously on 30 January to leave the Soviet Union and Iran to seek a settlement of their dispute by bilateral negotiations, the Council reserving the right to request information on the progress of the negotiations.

The Greek question came up for discussion on 1 February when M. Vyshinsky of Russia charged Britain with using her troops as a bulwark to royalist and fascist elements in Greece and asserted that there was no necessity for the continued presence of British troops now. The sudden departure

for Greece of the Greek Foreign Minister who was the head of the Greek delegation on the eve of discussion of the Greek question and his dismissal on return to Athens were interpreted in political circles as being due to his sympathy with Soviet action regarding Greece.

In a vehement speech repudiating the allegations, Mr. Bevin declared that the 'incessant propaganda of Moscow and the incessant propaganda of the Communist party' constituted a danger to the peace of the world and demanded a 'clean bill for Britain.' Vyshinsky retorted by saying that 'nothing worse could have been said' than Mr. Bevin's accusation that Moscow propaganda was a threat to peace and asserted his unequivocal call for 'unconditional withdrawal' of British troops in Greece. Ultimately the Council decided to take no further action over Soviet charges against British troops in Greece, but difficulty arose over the phrasing of the resolution. Vyshinsky insisted on a wording recording the Council's readiness to regard the Greek case as 'exhausted' in view of Mr. Bevin's declaration that British troops would be withdrawn from Greece 'as soon as possible.' Mr. Bevin, on the other hand, demanded that the resolution should fully exonerate Britain by declaring that the presence of British troops in Greece constituted no threat to international peace. At a meeting of the Council on 6 February, the Chairman said that the majority of members of the Council had expressed their views and that, in their opinion, the presence of British troops in Greece did not endanger the peace of the world. Hence the Council could regard the matter as closed and proceed to the next item of the business. But Vyshinsky refused to accept this proposal and added that the utmost to which he could accede was to abstain from pressing for any formal decision on the situation caused by or arising from the presence of British troops in Greece. Thereupon Mr. Bevin responded with a declaration that he would not insist on a formal declaration that the presence of British troops in Greece did not create a situation likely to endanger the peace. The episode came to a close with a statement by the Chairman thus:

'I feel we should take note of the declarations before the Security Council of the representatives of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and Greece and also the views expressed by representatives of the following members of the Security Council: the United States, France, China, Australia, Poland, the Netherlands, Egypt and Brazil with regard to the question of the presence of British troops as recorded in the proceedings of the Council and that we consider the matter closed.'

On 7 February, the Ukrainian delegate suggested the creation of a special commission to investigate the situation in Indonesia, while not raising the question of withdrawal of British troops therefrom. Mr. Bevin argued that the Ukrainian resolution was based on incorrect newspaper reports and that as the Ukrainian delegate had not demanded the withdrawal of British forces, they could not be a danger to the security of peace. Regretting 'that Japanese troops had to be used for only a brief time,' the Dutch delegate asserted that they could not have the internal condition in Indonesia on the agenda of the Council as it would infringe Dutch sovereignty. Vyshinsky declared:

'On the one hand, they refuse to admit that the reports are true, and on the other, they refuse to send a mission to enquire on the spot' and 'nations must sacrifice a part of their sovereignty if the United Nations is to be a real and effective organ.' He therefore demanded the United Nations' intervention in Indonesia and despatch of an international inquiry commission there. Mr. Stettinius opposed the sending of such an inquiry commission. A straight vote on the Ukrainian proposal was prevented by an Egyptian resolution demanding a formal undertaking that British troops would not be used against the Indonesian nationalist movement and reserving the Council's right to take further action if the Indonesian-Dutch negotiations failed. This was a compromise resolution in that it dropped altogether the request for an investigation to which a majority of the members expressed opposition. Mr. Bevin opposed it declaring that it contained an inference that British troops had been or would be used against Indonesians. Now, Vyshinsky sprang a surprise by moving an amendment 'that with a view to clarifying the situation in Indonesia and contributing to the re-establishment of the normal situation, a Commission comprising of representatives of the Soviet Union, Great Britain, China, the United States and the Netherlands should be sent.' But on 13 February night, all the three (Ukrainian, Egyptian and Soviet) proposals were rejected and the Chairman declared that the matter was closed.

On 5 February, Syria and the Lebanon requested the Council to adopt a resolution recommending the total and simultaneous evacuation of British and French troops from Syria and the Lebanon by a definite date. Vyshinsky supported the request on the ground that the Anglo-French agreement of 13 December 1935 had been concluded without the participation or knowledge of Syria and the Lebanon and stated that he looked in vain for a provision for withdrawal therein. Poland also gave general support. Finally three proposals were made, the Dutch and U. S. proposals asking that negotiations should be resumed between the parties concerned for the withdrawal of troops, and the Egyptian proposal urging that negotiations should be merely on the technical details of withdrawal. Syria wanted to limit the negotiations to the actual technical details of withdrawal. While not opposed to negotiations on other questions, Syria and the Lebanon could not allow these negotiations to be linked with the removal of troops for they feared that, if the question of withdrawal was mixed up with other questions, the failure of one set of negotiations would affect the success of the other. Russia moved amendments insisting on a recommendation by the Council for immediate withdrawal and that the only thing that the negotiations could be concerned with, was technical details. But the Egyptian proposal and the Russian amendments were rejected and the U. S. resolution, permitting direct negotiations between Britain, France and the Levant States for withdrawal of troops, came up for decision which, under Article 27 of the Charter, required the concurring votes of all the permanent members. But Russia vetoed the affirmative vote of the seven members of the Council. She did so not because she disagreed with it but she felt that it did not go far enough. The Council ruled that the

Soviet veto, invoked for the first time, was valid and passed on to the next item of business on the agenda.

SO. IAL AND ECONOMIC COUNCIL

On 23 January, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar was elected Chairman of the Council and the Council held its first formal meeting. Mr. Carlos Restrepo, the Colombian delegate and Dr. Stampar, the Yugoslavian delegate, were elected vice-presidents. On 4 February, the Council unanimously approved a resolution regretting that the Trusteeship Council was not formed during the Assembly's first session. It recommended that the Assembly should welcome the declaration made by certain States 'of their intention to negotiate trusteeship agreements and should invite these States 'to undertake practical steps in concert with other States directly concerned for implementation of provisions for the conclusion of agreements on the terms of trusteeship' in order to submit these agreements for approval, preferably not later than during the second part of the first session of the Assembly.

On 11 February, Mr. John Winant of U. S. A. proposed a motion calling for an international Trade and Unemployment Conference to be held later this year to deal with two main questions: (1) an international agreement relating to (a) the achievement and maintenance of high and stable level of employment and economic activity (b) regulations, restrictions and discriminations affecting world trade; and (2) the establishment of an international trade organization as a specialized agency of the United Nations. He pleaded for the expansion of multilateral trade and a pledge by nations to strive for full employment.

On 15 February, the Council decided, despite Russian opposition, to hold an International Health Conference on 20 June 1946. On 18 February, it decided to set up a commission on narcotic drugs. It also set up a preparatory commission to elaborate the draft agenda of the Trade Conference and a temporary Transport Commission to study the international organization of transport and a special committee on refugees.

DELEGATIONS AND MISSIONS

STATES INDUSTRIAL DELEGATION

The States Industrial Delegation headed by Mr. H. S. Malik returned to India in the first half of January 1946 after a tour of Britain and America. The four-fold task of the delegation was ascertaining in those countries the position regarding the availability of machinery and capital equipment; secondly, investigating the possibility of collaboration of British and American industrialists in the industrial development of Indian states; thirdly, ascertaining the position about securing for specified periods the services of experts and technical men who might come out to the Indian states to help industries therein; and lastly making arrangements for training students and workmen who might be sent out from Indian states.

The delegation found that in U. K. the manufacturers generally were not sanguine about the supply of capital equipment without considerable delay.

However, in spite of the difficulties of conversion, they were able to get, from certain important sections of British industry, the concession that they would willingly set aside a portion of their productive capacity specifically to meet their needs. This applied particularly to hydro-electric and generating machinery. £ 400 million was the approximate value of the capital goods which the states might purchase from abroad. Regarding the question of collaboration, the delegation found considerable interest for organizing manufacture on a basis of partnership. The delegation expressed the hope that exploitation could be avoided by the conclusion of agreements in each individual case which would be fair to both sides and it was also expected that such individual agreements would be suitable for industries other than basic industries. As regards the basic industries, the states would follow the principles laid down by the Government of India, something like 90% indigenous and 20% foreign interest. The delegation expects to have a separate purchasing Mission both in U. K. and U. S. A. On the question of facilities for factory training of students and workmen from the states, the delegation received the offer of willing co-operation in any industry they might require.

INDIAN TECHNICAL DELEGATION TO GERMANY

The delegation returned to India in the second week of February. It included Dr. Nazir Ahmed, Technical Director, Indian Central Cotton Committee, Mr. S. P. Nair of Messrs. Powells Ltd., Mr. R. D. Char of Standard Batteries, Mr. S. L. Kirloskar of Kirloskar Bros., and Dr. L. C. Jariwala of Estrella Batteries. At the request of the Planning and Development Department of the Government of India the above delegates had been permitted by His Majesty's Government to join the British and American technical delegates who were going to Germany to investigate specified industrial and technical processes likely to be advantageous to Allied industrial production. The delegation toured Germany and held discussions with Allied technicians at London and presented their report to the British Intelligence Objectives Sub-committee Secretariat of His Majesty's Government. They urged the Government of India to depute to Germany several batches of technical men connected with different industries to study the technique in various German factories.

INDIAN TRADE DELEGATION TO CHINA

The delegation was led by Mr. K. K. Chettur, Joint Secretary, Commerce Department of the Government of India and consisted of three non-official members, Mr. Mohamed Mitha, Mr. Tulsidas Kilachand and Mr. G. B. Kotak, with Mr. A. E. Jhaveri and Mr. S. A. Jassawala as technical Advisers. It was sponsored by the Commerce Department to explore the possibilities of developing closer and expanded trade relations between India and China, with a view to revive and develop the Chinese markets for Indian goods, particularly tobacco and also cotton. The delegation visited Hong-Kong, Shanghai, Tientsin and Chungking. They discussed with Chungking authorities and businessmen all connected questions including the question of granting credits to the Chinese Government for the purchase of cotton.

INDIAN DELEGATION TO THE INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

The Committee on Transition period under Production and Distribution Group of the International Chamber of Commerce met in London on 11-12 February. Mr. Gautam Sarabhai represented the Indian National Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce. The Committee on Transition problems in Transportation and Communications Group also held its meeting in London on 14-15 February and the Indian National Committee was represented by Mr. D. S. Erulkar.

ETHIOPIAN TRADE DELEGATION TO INDIA

The delegation consisted of M. Lidjaraya, representative of the Ethiopian Finance Ministry, and M. Berd Babayan, President of the Addis Ababa Chamber of Commerce. It was sponsored by the Ethiopian Government to promote trade between India and Ethiopia particularly in Indian piece-goods. After its arrival in India on 20 January the delegation visited important piecegoods centres in India for nearly a month.*

INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS OF INDIA

TREATY WITH SIAM

Britain and India signed a peace treaty with Siam on 1 January 1946. Mr. M. S. Aney signed on behalf of the Government of India. The provisions of the treaty include:—

(i) Siam should hand over as soon as possible all her accumulated surplus rice up to a maximum of 1,500,000 tons.

(ii) All rice surplus to the internal needs of Siam during the next 21 months must be available for purchase by Britain.

(iii) The British Government would set up a special rice organization to administer these stipulations.

(iv) The Siamese Government is prohibited from cutting a canal across the narrow part of the Siamese peninsula to link the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Siam without prior consent of the British Government.

(v) Trade in rice, tin, rubber and tea would be regulated and all exports would cease, except in accordance with the recommendations of the Combined Boards in Washington and anybody that succeeds them.

(vi) Regarding tin and rubber Siam would conform to any international arrangement agreed to by the U. N. O. to which Siam should apply for membership.

(vii) All acquisitions of British territory since 7 December 1941 and all titles, rights, properties and interests acquired there were null and void and

*See also Chronicle of Important Events under India, Britain, South-East Asia and Australia and International Events.

30 January—Indian Rice Delegation at Rangoon..

31 January—Kabul Cultural Mission in India.

25 March —South-East Asia 'Fight the Famine' Commission Meeting at Singapore.

31 January—International Sea-farers' Conference at London.

March —International Monetary Conference at Savannah, Georgia, Canada.

all Siamese military personnel, officials and nationals should be withdrawn from such territory.

(viii) Property taken away from these territories, including currency, would be restored except where it could be established that fair value had been given in exchange. Compensation must be paid for loss or damage to property rights and interests arising out of occupation of territories.

(ix) Current Siamese notes collected by British authorities must be redeemed in sterling out of former sterling reserves.

(x) British banking and commercial concerns in Siam would be desequestrated and permitted to resume business.

(xi) There would be restoration of or compensation for all official property of the British and Indian Governments, property whose ownership had been transferred since the out-break of the war, pensions granted to British nationals, stocks of tin, tea and other commodities, shipping and wharves, other leases and concessions granted to British firms and individuals valid on 7 December 1941, and other property and interests of all kinds.

(xii) Siamese Government would accept liability for service of loans and payment of persons in full from the date regular payment ceased with appropriate interest on arrears.

(xiii) Normal relations would be resumed at once and diplomatic representatives would be exchanged.

ASSOCIATIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES INTERESTED IN INDIA

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR INDIA'S FREEDOM

The Committee was founded on 25 October 1943 with headquarters in Washington to promote the cause of India's freedom, closer relationship between India and America and of democracy and international co-operation. Its members are of two categories: (i) *Founding Members* consisting of influential Indian resident nationals of the U. S. A. who formulate the policies of the Committee, elect its officers, control its funds and pay an annual fee of \$ 25.00 per year and (ii) *General Members* being any Indian nationals residing in the U. S. A. and paying an annual fee of \$ 5.00 per year. Any American who sympathizes with the objectives of the Committee can become 'American Sympathizer.' The Committee is not affiliated to any organization in India, the U. S. A. or elsewhere.

The Executive Committee consists of a Chairman (Dr. Syed Hossain), two Vice-Chairmen (Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar and Dr. Krishnalal Shridharani) Secretary (Dr. Anup Singh), and Treasurer (Dr. Kamala Kosambi). The Executive Committee is elected annually in April. Any part of the Committee's constitution can be changed by a majority vote of the Founding Members. The Committee is supported by membership fee and voluntary contributions.

The National Committee seeks to promote its objectives by issuing a monthly magazine *Voice of India*, distributing literature on India, issuing statements on vital questions, holding public meetings, and interpreting India

to the American public by all other possible means. The Office address of the Committee is 1129 Vermont Ave., Washington 5, D. C. (Telephone: National 4769).

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THE FUTURE OF INDIA AND SOUTH-EAST ASIA. By K. M. Panikkar.
1945 (London : George Allen & Unwin, Bombay : Allied Publishers,
Rs. 3/12/-)

MR. Panikkar's book, which when published in London attracted a good deal of attention, has now been published in Bombay. It has obviously already had considerable influence on political thought concerning South-East Asia; and for its facts and figures concerning Burma, Thailand, Indo-China, the Netherlands East Indies and Malaya it deserves to be widely read. Mr. Panikkar holds that free India allied with Britain will be the dominating factor in South-East Asia's future. He exposes clearly the weaknesses of the colonial systems of the British, Dutch and French and works out a scheme for the future set-up. There is to be a 'triune commonwealth' consisting of Pakistan (which Mr. Panikkar regards as inevitable), Hindustan and Burma 'held together and strengthened by co-operation with Britain to form a great structure for peace and security in Asia.' For Thailand he predicts (1) a short period of Allied occupation and control followed by a period of tutelage during which the Governments concerned would help the Thais to establish a progressive and democratic national government, and (2) after Allied withdrawal its full association in the political and defence arrangements of South-East Asia.

In Indo-China Mr. Panikkar holds that the only practicable solution is to reunite the three Annamite provinces and restore authority to the Emperor. For Cambodia he prescribes a relaxation of French authority, ensuring the participation of the people in the government. France would remain the protecting power in alliance with the two States and guide their policy by advice and 'where necessary, supervision.' Mr. Panikkar is conscious of France's great cultural contribution and feels that Asia can ill afford to lose the French spirit. Her old colonial system in Asia has collapsed and this should enable her to build her structure on fresh lines on a basis of equal co-operation, and so retain her 'window on the Pacific.'

Mr. Panikkar foresaw that Malaya would be a distressed area immediately after the war but here as elsewhere the old colonial system cannot be restored or the peoples subjected to a paternal administration. 'Malaya has to evolve a free government based no doubt on a federation of the states, but with a central government on democratic lines. Singapore and Penang and essential areas of defence would have to be administered by Britain, which in association with India and Indonesia would maintain naval and air bases and establish the necessary conditions of effective security.'

Mr. Panikkar is all for freedom throughout the East and a complete end to the exploitation of the natural resources of colonies in the interests of the colonizing Power. But he wishes to keep Britain, France and the Netherlands in the picture, being himself no revolutionary and combining respect for the past with a progressive outlook. Yet it is difficult to see how his proposals in any way guarantee an end of exploitation. One is not sure whether Mr. Panikkar is inviting Britain, France and Holland to a new, noble task of self-sacrifice in the defence of South-East Asia or offering them suitable award. Much of his argument is weakened by the emphasis he places upon Queen Wilhelmina's 'historic proclamation' which he says 'marked the formal end of Dutch colonization in the East.' Obviously Mr. Panikkar underrated the resistance power of the great Dutch vested interests in Indonesia. It is indeed rather surprising that he should have supposed that this proclamation made during the course of the war had changed the Dutch from colonial administrators of a type of which he gives an unflattering description into the principal champions of self-government for Asia, drawing after them a more laggard Britain. He anticipated no post-war trouble in Indonesia, believing that Queen Wilhelmina had solved the problem in advance by resolving that 'out of the ashes of the old colonial empire should rise a new conception of participation which on the basis of freedom will unite the people of Indonesia with the Dutch in a wider commonwealth'... 'the proclamation embodied the final choice. Holland has come to the East and has assumed leadership in South-East Asia.'

Mr. Panikkar's vision may come true; indeed so completely does Holland's economy depend upon her colonial empire that it would seem that her hope lies in being able to make the Dutch Indies the centre and Holland the suburb. But post-war events have not revealed in the Dutch that ready acceptance of Indonesian freedom which Mr. Panikkar took for granted, nor any great confidence on the part of the Indonesians in the intentions of the Dutch.

The author's insight had already penetrated into a large number of consequences of the war and one can wish that more people had shared his vision. Another virtue is the candour with which he discusses all the objections he can think of to his proposals. But to me it seems that there is an essential weakness in these proposals which is nowhere mentioned and which the critical reader is left to find out for himself. Mr. Panikkar's main pre-occupation is with the defence of South-East Asia, and one asks oneself against whom or what he wishes to defend it. He is assuming that there will be future wars and is preparing for defence on a basis of an alliance of free sovereign nations. But he sees no risk of aggression from any of the States he lists as members of his defensive system. Britain, France and Holland are to be the enthusiastic guarantors of the free nations of the East. India and China are equally pure. America, which he describes as the greatest power in the world, 'has deliberately refused to assume the rôle of a colonial power,' but she must participate in defence because she 'will not be content to withdraw from this area and leave it to the other Powers.' Mr. Panikkar proposes an international council for South-East Asia's affairs, and lists the members:—America, Britain, Holland,

France, China, Australia, Indonesia, India and 'two representatives of the peoples of the colonies.' To these he would add in due course Japan as 'any attempt to ostracize her will only lead to further disaster. In due time she will naturally take her place in the international council.'

Well then, against whom is South-East Asia to be defended? Obviously against the one important omission. Mr. Panikkar sees no disaster ahead in the attempt to ostracize Russia. And that, I fear, makes nonsense of his scheme. For not America but Russia is the greatest power in Asia today, Atom bomb or no Atom bomb, and if a misguided attempt to isolate her from the Pacific were to produce war, the elaborate defensive system which Mr. Panikkar adumbrates would collapse as ignominiously as did the colonial system in 1942.

Schemes for defence if they are to be realistic in an age of Atom bombs have to be schemes designed to enforce world peace. We have to build up an international force controlling all the island bases, and to abandon regional defence schemes aimed at particular potential aggressors. South-East Asia, says Mr. Panikkar, 'is placed on the flank of American communications with China. Any threat to that area will place the whole of Sino-American relations in jeopardy.' What threat is Mr. Panikkar thinking of? Clearly, since he is prepared to trust a defeated and chastened Japan, he can only have Russia in mind. Of China he writes: 'she will be the one state directly bordering upon this region (i.e., South-East Asia) which has no territorial interest or special obligations. Her status as the leading Asiatic power will also help to establish the non-racial character of the council.' The contrast between the author's attitude towards Russia and China is startling.

No good is likely to come out of a scramble for naval and air bases. I should like to recruit Mr. Panikkar for the unseen army of those who in every country are now working for a World Government. Panama, Midway, Wake, Guam, Hong Kong, Singapore, Aden, Tangier, Gibraltar, Heligoland, Gotland, the Aland Islands—these and others must become the fortified barracks of a federal world police controlling a world of unarmed States. Other defence schemes are not defence schemes at all, they are only an invitation and a prelude to the abomination of desolation.

Mr. Panikkar counts upon British capital to play a large part in the coming industrial expansion of India but how can a country which will be heavily in India's debt for years provide India with capital? This is a contradiction in terms. Whatever arrangement is arrived at concerning the sterling debt, Britain can be relied upon to repay India as quickly as she can and as much as she can. It is not probable that the British Government will allow private British capital to exploit India while the general British taxpayer is taxed to repay what is owed to India. The gradual liquidation of British holdings in India seems inevitable.

Nor can I foresee the youth of Britain hurtling out to Asia to offer their lives enthusiastically on behalf of a new co-prosperity scheme based on the hopeless idea of ostracizing the greatest Asiatic Power from the rest of Asia. It has been no easy matter to explain to British troops why they had to be in Burma

fighting the Japanese. To explain to them why they should fight Russia in Far Eastern Asia would be more difficult. We have been warned.

4 January 1946

ARTHUR MOORE

GLORY AND BONDAGE. By Edgar Snow. 1945 (Bombay: Thacker & Co., Rs. 7/8/-)

Edgar Snow has for many years acted what he himself describes as 'ears and eyes' for his countrymen who stayed at home, in almost every country in the world. As he confesses in this book, between 1928 and 1941, he had witnessed a dozen years of war—usually undeclared—, followed Mahatma Gandhi on his great civil disobedience movement, reported the occupation of Manchuria, the Shanghai 'Provocation,' 'the Lukoachiao incident' that later expanded into the China War. With this background Edgar Snow goes to work on his latest spin round the world from 1942 to 1944, the most crucial years of the war which saw the German conquest reach its peak and begin the downward curve. To us in India the most important part of this book is the one that deals with India. Edgar Snow made his name as a devoted and sensitive interpreter of China and has undoubtedly done much to help America and the West understand and appreciate China. One is therefore greatly disappointed by Snow's chapter on India. Perhaps those who have been following his latest writings on China are not altogether surprised by this. For Edgar Snow has been slowly but steadily moving from his broad basis to a narrow sectarian one. He seems to have already made up his mind and, therefore, unlike in the old days, not too careful to study and try to understand with an open mind. The following statements for instance reveal more a journalist's claptrap than the political study of a country and its people: 'Non-violent civil disobedience is a method of struggle peculiarly suited to Indian temperament because of the passivity engendered in the masses by centuries of subjugation.' 'The British hated the Brahmin mentality and the brutality of the caste system, but liked the simple peasants and workers.' Referring to the socialists 'such men were often called Fascists, and followed what was objectively a policy favouring Axis collaboration.' Referring to the Communists' refusal to participate in the 1942 movement, 'as a result of these cleavages, the insurrection got relatively far less mass support.' 'It was just incidentally that we had to help Britain re-establish her Empire in Burma to accomplish our mission.'

He is on equally false ground when he tries his hand at the Middle East. He plays down traces of fear of Russia in Iran and emphatically states: 'The fears that this land would be swallowed up by its Russian neighbour have now been put to rest. If any international guarantee is worth anything, the one made to Iran should assure it a brilliant independent future.' We have seen only too well how *brilliantly* international guarantees turn out.

Edgar Snow is on far surer ground when he enters Russia, for he is definitely prejudiced in its favour. This chapter is full of very valuable information, especially the marvellous war mobilization. With its 175 kinds of nations and

tribes, many more and greater varieties than in India and scattered over four times our area, living in complete comradeship in a Union, Russia surely deserves study; and Snow's subtle and sensitive interpretations of Russian practices which are often misunderstood outside are valuable. For instance:

'Competition is the life of business, and since there is not any "business" in Russia in our sense, some people think there can be no competition. But when you break it down to its Latin origin that excellent word really means "to strive after together." The Soviets did everything to promote competition in that literal sense. They realized it was a good old human instinct to want to excel, whether one lives in a capitalistic or socialistic world.'

Those who are familiar with material on China are equally familiar with Snow's writings. He highlighted the communists and their doings with sympathy and admiration. He had also given us the first inside glimpse of the Yen'an régime and its new way of life. But now with his weight thrown completely on one side, his analysis often becomes partisan-like and although one will continue to read his interpretation of the communist case with interest it has lost some of its old weight.

The most fascinating and perhaps valuable part of the book is the tail-end where he analyses the story of Japanese conquest and occupation of the South-East Asian countries. Here he is once more the supreme political student and analyst and with all his stern prejudice against Japan, he sees the complex web in which these 500,000,000 people are caught. Here he can talk of 'honest nationalists' who looked to the Japanese only to be disillusioned. He sees that it is not the masses who figure in the 'Co-prosperity' scheme. To the Japanese banner are drawn only the 'opportunists and unemployed, bureaucrats, Sultans and Princes, who had helped the previous rulers.' One can only regret that this clear vision got blurred when he looked at India.

23 March 1946

(MRS) KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

A PEEP INTO BURMA POLITICS 1917-1942. By N. C. Sen. 1945
(Allahabad; Kitabistan, Rs. 4/8/-)

The *leit motif* of this book, as stated by the author, is to bring about a better understanding between the Burmese and the Indians. This objective could only be achieved in a comprehensive dissertation on the development of Indo-Burmese relations in the cultural, political, and economic spheres and by a detailed treatment of the future of these relations. In fact, however, only one (Chapter 12) of the fifteen chapters is devoted to Indians in Burma. The scope of the work, more accurately described by its title, is to draw up a chronicle of important political events during the 25 years preceding the fall of the country in 1942. As such it is bound to be of rather limited interest to the Indian reader.

This limited scope is, however, well covered by the author. After tracing the real growth of political interest in Burma to the foundation of the Young Men's Buddhist Association in 1906, the author refers to the reawakening of the minds of young men as a result of the last World War which culminated in a well-organized, but ultimately ineffective, Student's Boycott. Hardly

in any other country in modern times has the influence of the priest and the student been greater in politics. The important events follow in succession after the institution of the Whyte Committee in 1920 which ushered in the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms in Burma. One cannot agree with the view that communal representation aggravated political tension—in fact the author himself admits later the necessity of at least joint electorates with reservation of seats for the protection of minority interests. From here onwards till 1928 the book becomes almost a yearly record of the vicissitudes of Burmese politics through the three General Elections. The years 1928-31 were those of the Simon Commission and the Round Table Conferences. Then reference is properly made to the economic difficulties leading to the Burma rebellion and the riots of 1930. The selfishness, aggrandizement, and job-hunting that characterized the post-reform General Election politics in Burma after 1936 fully come under the author's criticism. He also mentions self-assertiveness and general race consciousness as common features in all party alignments. Next, in order, are the events of the University strike and the Muslim riots leading to the fall of Baw Maw's Ministry in 1939 and the rise of the Myochit Party under U Saw. The strong racial outlook of this Government was reflected in the Indo-Burmese Trade and Immigration Agreements concluded before the Japanese War. Finally, with a brief reference to the early adventures of U Aung San, the Thakin Party, the Forward Bloc, and Sir Po Tun's last Ministry the narrative closes with the transfer of the Burma Government to India.

In Chapter 12 the author examines the extent of the anti-Indian feeling and suggests remedies. In attributing anti-Indian feeling to Indian aloofness—in proof of which is cited the lack of interest on the part of Indians to learn the Burmese language—the author ignores the more fundamental reason which must be found in the surging nationalism of a young race. His remedies: abolition of communal electorates, committees for the settlement of indebtedness and questions of land rights and mortgages, and legislation to remove disabilities of Burmese women marrying foreigners are, it is agreed, quite practical. No one doubts that the Indo-Burmese relationships can be improved by mutual goodwill and compromise. The question is whether these will be forthcoming from both sides.

17 February 1946

B. M. PIPLANI

THE INDONESIAN QUESTION. By 'Kaushik'. 1945 (Bombay: Thacker & Co., Re. 1/-)

One of the lasting results of the World War II is the emergence of an Asiatic consciousness. Japan's dream of Asia ruled by her has rightly crumbled, but the vision of Asia freed from the domination of the White Powers shines brighter than ever.

It was the partition of Bengal that provided the first indication of India's consciousness of unity. Tragic events often yield spiritual enlightenment and integration. What the anti-partition movement did for India the gallant

struggle of the Indonesians is doing for Asia. Out of their blood and tears the pride and awareness of Asiatic unity are emerging.

Indonesia's fight for freedom has evoked instinctive sympathy from the people of India. 'Kaushik' has tried through his little book to give intellectual content to the emotional allegiance. The essay opens with thumb-nail sketches of the leaders of the revolt, then follows a survey of the national movement followed by an account of Dutch and British stake in the islands and ends up with a brief review of the geographical and historical facts about Indonesia.

In many ways the Indonesian national movement has drawn inspiration from India and has sketched, with an inevitable time-lag, more or less the same pattern as that of Indian nationalism. Kaushik's booklet would have gained in meaning and value if he had drawn this parallel and explained its implications.

Within its limits, *THE INDONESIAN QUESTION* is a competent study.

31 January 1936

ASOKA MEHTA

ECONOMIC STABILITY IN THE POST-WAR WORLD Part II. 1945 (Geneva: League of Nations, 10 s.)

The publication under review is the second part of the Report of the Delegation on Economic Depressions, which was appointed in 1938 to investigate and suggest measures for preventing or mitigating depressions. The first part *Transition from War to Peace Economy* published in 1943 was acclaimed on its publication as an important contribution and a guide to the solution of the immediate post-war problems. This second part deals with long-term issues for securing economic stability by the fullest possible use of productive resources when the period of transition is over. The report is divided into two unequal sections, the first and the smaller one being an analysis of the structural changes which the world is undergoing, and the nature and mechanism of depressions in the different countries of the world. The other section deals at length with anti-depression policy and the positive remedies to be taken for maintaining aggregate demand against those factors that are likely to lead to depressions. All through the report they emphasize the international character of depressions and the need for international action to overcome them; for depressions 'are international phenomena or national phenomena spreading from one country to another' and again 'we have had to consider the influences of policy adopted in one country upon the economic activity of another. We should have failed wholly in our purpose had we put forward proposals which were to reduce unemployment in one area only at the cost of increasing unemployment elsewhere.

In analysing the nature of depressions, they point out that the level of employment in any industrial country depends on the amount of expenditure. If insufficient is spent to buy the whole output that can be produced, some people will be unemployed and in a country where people save part of their income, the maintenance of demand and consequently of employment depends on an equivalent amount of expenditure directed towards investments.

They clearly distinguish between the different types of depression and the effect of depressions on different types of economy. Thus they devote separate chapters to cyclical depressions, chronic depressions, unemployment in special areas or industries and to the special difficulties which raw-materials and food-producing countries have to face. In advanced countries where the saving-investment process is very important, they point out, maintenance of demand is likely to prove especially very difficult and depressions in these countries arise mainly owing to the fact that changes in investment plans do not always synchronize with decisions to save. In the case of countries like India, they assert that measures necessary to secure full employment differ from the anti-depression measures proposed for industrial countries. This subject should have been pursued at much greater length, because the major part of the second section is devoted to measures that they recommend for adoption in highly advanced industrial countries, to international measures and the co-ordination of international policies. While stressing that political security is the first essential, they also describe the machinery for carrying out the international anti-depression measures, the adoption of more liberal and dynamic commercial policies, the creation of international monetary mechanism, the establishment of an international institution to stimulate and encourage international movement of capital for productive purposes in a contra-cyclical fashion, the creation of a buffer stock agency and the international co-ordination of national policies for the maintenance of a high and stable level of employment. 'It is in our opinion an obligation of Governments both to pursue such policies and to co-ordinate their policies internationally so that the policy of no country acts to the detriment of others.' Some of the measures recommended by them for international action are already on the anvil and this invaluable analysis of long-term economic trends is bound to be fruitful in guiding the path of those who are working for security and peace.

26 February 1946

M. C. MUNSHI

INTERNATIONAL SEA TRANSPORT. By Brig.-Gen. Sir Osborne Mance, assisted By J. E. Wheeler. 1945 (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 12s. 6d. net)

This is the fourth of a series of publications under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs on a study of International Transport and Communications by the same author.

The book is divided into eleven chapters, each having several sections, dealing with various problems connected with international maritime transport, including international machinery for securing co-ordination and adjustment of disputes, international law relating to high seas, territorial waters, maritime canals, straits and ports, salvage at sea, arrests at sea, maritime liens and mortgages, ship-owners' liability, general average etc., technical and safety questions, labour, health, marine insurance, shipping policy of the principal maritime countries, State aid to shipping, rationalization of international shipping, war and shipping and future of international sea transport. The sources utilized

in this study include international treaties, conventions and agreements, documents and proceedings of international organizations and conferences, official documents of various governments and unofficial reports, books and periodicals.

As a factual presentation of the problems of international sea transport upto the latest available period this study provides a most valuable guide to every one concerned, and should be an eye-opener to many in this country who are rushing to the shipping industry and trade.

Shipping is one of the oldest, and by far the most important, forms of transport, carrying over three-fourths of the world's international trade. Its organization and operation are largely based on unwritten law and it is the most international of all industries, commanding immense flexibility, that inevitably engenders ruthless competition. Its importance and unique features have compelled State intervention by almost all countries having maritime interests and some have even gone to the length of owning entire fleets or of total control of operation.

The main problems with which international sea transport has been faced since the World War I have not been technical but political and economic. The reservation of coasting trade to national shipping has come to be recognized as a national right, which has been freely exercised by States desiring to assist their mercantile marine. After the end of World War II world shipping presents many difficult national and international problems, particularly because there is every likelihood of a large surplus of shipping capacity emerging in comparison to world trade and of a large preponderance of American ships over those of other countries. Some form of rationalization by agreement, therefore, is urgently called for.

Indian shipping magnates and commercial men as well as politicians interested in developing and preserving Indian shipping and India's due share in the control of her foreign trade would greatly profit through a study of this highly instructive and informative publication.

28 February 1946

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

SOME POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE ATOMIC BOMB. By E. L. Woodward. 1945. (London, Oxford University Press, 2s. net)

The intelligent reader would agree with the author's own judgement on the booklet as 'an enquiry which has shown little more than my own perplexity'. His concrete suggestion that the members of the United Nations could reinforce the existing arrangements by a simple pact—that if any Power used the Atomic bomb without the unanimous approval of other members of the Security Council, the Association as a whole would join in immediate retaliation—is certainly worth consideration.

31 March 1946

A. A.

FOREIGN BOOKS ON INDIA

INDIA IN OUTLINE. By Lady Hartog. 1944 (London: Cambridge University Press, 6s. net)

Every book that deals with India as a whole must be a summary of some kind, and *India in Outline* is a short but comprehensive and masterly summary

of countless, diverse facts concerning India. It is a judiciously balanced account, and there is no undue emphasis on any particular aspect of the complex of problems that India appears to have become.

India in Outline can, therefore, claim to be one of the best introductions to India. The grim and depressing or exasperating truths will dawn on anyone who passes on to a closer study of Indian conditions. There is no harm done if the introduction itself is inclined to optimism. It is also hardly possible, in a generalization that must be explicit and very brief, to do full justice to all points of view, specially in matters where opinions of a certain kind have become traditional. But to say that the early Muslim sultans 'were nearly all cruel and fanatical,' or to imply that a discreditable romance was the most noteworthy fact of Alauddin Khilji's reign makes a generalization look like a calumny, even though nothing may have been further from the author's mind. Such criticism might seem, to those not interested in Indo-Muslim history, mere pedantic bickering, but unfair judgements that have become a habit only too often distort the perspective even of those who themselves wish to be quite fair. We need, in fact, to check up all previous judgements. If the view that Muslim rulers, apart from Akbar, were nearly all cruel or fanatical is historically unsound, it is unrealistic to repeat the old story that the 'District Officer was also in a very real sense the father of the people,' that the mode of address commonly employed by those who sought an interview with him was 'Sir, you are my father and my mother,' and that many a visitor asked advice on 'the most varied subjects, perhaps about a quarrel with his neighbour over some land, or about the marriage of his grandson, or still more intimate family matters.'

Lady Hartog has made it clear that there is a forward movement in all spheres of Indian life. The number, the ignorance and apathy of the masses are an obstacle to progress. But even in the most advanced countries of the world the masses are still relatively large in number, ignorant and apathetic, and a hundred years ago they were much worse than they are now. Who is to blame if India is still a most backward country, or, as some prefer to put it, the least advanced among the progressive countries? It is easy to retort with a generalization which will not bear scrutiny. But such discussions, so far as *India in Outline* is concerned, are beyond its purview. *India in Outline* is short, informative, very pleasant to read, and it would be perverse not to feel grateful for its note of optimism, even where we may feel that it is not quite justified.

15 January 1946

ZAKIR HUSAIN

A FOOD PLAN FOR INDIA. 1945 (London: Oxford University Press, issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Rs. 2.)

This brochure of 60 pages is a useful addition to the literature on the food problem of India. It was prepared, however, over a year ago, and in this one year there have been such vast changes in the international situation and in the condition of India that the survey seems already out of date. The food situation in India has attracted the attention of the world, because to-day India

is threatened not merely with a food shortage but with famine. Over large areas, the rains failed last year, and in these tracts not only will no grains be produced but large numbers of the population will be without employment. That is a problem which calls for remedies very different from the line of treatment advocated in the brochure.

The brochure seems to be the handiwork of a group of persons resident in England who have based their analysis of the position and their conclusions on such information as is mainly available from official sources. It is not certain if any of the writers have first-hand experience of Indian conditions. The survey suffers for that reason by comparison with similar documents drawn up by persons having a living acquaintance with conditions as they obtain to-day in India. The Report of the Famine Inquiry Commission, although it is by no means light literature, provides more attractive reading. For the man in the street, an article by Mahatma Gandhi in the *Harijan* offering constructive suggestions to meet the present emergency will have greater educative value from the practical standpoint.

The main thesis is that effort should be concentrated, in the near future, on the production and supply of artificial fertilizers and other manures so as to secure an increase in the production of food per acre. This is helpful mainly where the crops are raised under irrigation. The area under irrigation for India as a whole is about a fifth of the total area under cultivation, but the proportion varies from Province to Province. For Bombay, it is roughly four per cent. Hence the scope for the application of manures and fertilizers for raising the output per acre seems to be somewhat limited, unless simultaneously a drive is initiated to add to the water supplies available for irrigation. To this aspect of the problem of increased production, there is, however, little attention devoted in the brochure.

The paramount duty of a State which wishes to conserve and increase its food supplies is to retain for the country the resources which help in raising the quantities of food. It is only in the present emergency that Government have stopped the export of groundnut, while bones and fish can still be exported, although both provide invaluable sources for the supply of manure. There is mention made in the brochure of the steps taken to extend the preparation of composts. To the average citizen, however, it appears that town refuse and night soil continue to be as widely wasted as ever before, and no obligation is laid on local authorities to use these scientifically and efficiently. In rural areas, this valuable source of organic manures goes altogether to waste, while cow-dung continues to be universally used as fuel. To talk of allowing the rural population free access to supplies in the forests seems hardly well-advised when the forests themselves have been denuded to feed the military Moloch; but the huge economic waste involved in the use of cow-dung as fuel must go on until a cheap substitute can be placed at the disposal of the rural population.

An important section of the brochure is that relating to the creation of a machinery for the implementing of the Plan for popularizing the use of approved varieties of seed, the application of manures and fertilizers, the adoption

of dry-farming methods, the raising of pulses, fruits and vegetables, the improvement of milk supply, the extension of inland fisheries and the bringing about changes in other items of the programme. The approach, however, appears to be too mechanistic. The dividing of the country into groups, the placing of each one of the groups under an instructor or official who would themselves have their work supervised by persons higher up in the new hierarchy—all these seem to reproduce a pattern of our present bureaucracy. No one in touch with Indian conditions can put much faith in the creation of a new bureaucracy to give us our daily bread. Co-operative societies which come in for mention in the brochure can well be utilized for stimulating agricultural development and so can village panchayats. A note in the appendix contains the significant observation that 'the achievement of British agriculture during the present war in successfully meeting a similar emergency to that which faces India, has been largely due to the willing co-operation of farmers, scientists and the Executive in formulating and putting into operation a single plan of campaign.' In the plan unfolded in the brochure, there is scarcely any indication given of the measures necessary for securing the co-operation of the rural population in the working out of the plan and for associating their representative organizations such as co-operative societies and panchayats in its execution.

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA

INDIA: Facts in Brief. *By Anup Singh. 1945* (Washington: National Committee for India's freedom, 35 cents.)

SWORD OF GOLD: A life of Mahatma Gandhi. *By Roy Walker. 1945* (London: Indian Independence Union, 7s. 6d.)

OTHER BOOKS

CAN PLANNING BE DEMOCRATIC? *By Herbert Morrison, T. W. Agar, Barbara Wootton, C. E. M. Joad, Joan Robinson and G. D. H. Cole. Indian Edition 1945.* (Bombay: Vora & Co., Rs. 2/12/-)

This is a collection of six essays, and the contributors are well-known persons associated with the British Labour Movement. Mr. Morrison writes on the relations between the State and Industry. It is characteristic of British socialism that Mr. Morrison makes the significant remark:

In Britain, we have pinned our faith to government by consent. Democracy means that you must carry a majority of the people with you, and, if changes you want to make are great and sweeping ones, it had better be something more than a bare majority.

He makes out a strong case for a comprehensive economic policy to be undertaken by the State which must have a full and complete picture of national economy. In those cases where the State does not operate or control the productive organization of the community, it must use its power to regulate it in the best interests of the community.

Mr. Agar emphasizes that real industrial democracy involves the complete disappearance of private ownership from industry. He is disappointed that little has been achieved towards this during the recent war.

Barbara Wootton pleads that freedom is not inconsistent with planning. But, her contention that people can be got to do the work we have planned, that they should do by so arranging the conditions and attractions of the work that those people must voluntarily choose to do it, seems a bit far-fetched.

Mr. Joad, who writes on Culture and the Community, is as thought provoking as usual. According to him, the three essential faculties needed for the growth of culture are the use of reason to develop knowledge, the moral sense to do right, and the sense of beauty in art and literature, and he feels that only a socialist State can develop these faculties to the utmost.

Budgeting in the post-war world gives headaches to many politicians. Joan Robinson tries to demolish some of the old canons of 'sound finance.' The Chancellor of the Exchequer must think in terms of man-power and material, not in terms of money. He must not be frightened by deficits.

Mr. Cole is dissatisfied with the system of the present Civil Service. He thinks that the civil servant is trained under a departmental system of organization which makes him put a high value on security and not back any other idea. He is hide-bound by precedent and tradition. This charge can be levelled against the Civil Service in our own country in a greater measure. Mr. Cole says that such a Civil Service, however, appropriate for the purpose for which it was designed originally, is entirely unfitted for the undertaking of the major tasks of economic planning. If Mr. Cole can say that of the English Civil Service and wants radical reforms in its organization and functioning, what are we to say of the conditions in India where the State is undertaking planning and hoping to carry it out with the help of the highly powerful Civil Service of India which has an exalted superiority-complex?

15 December 1945

T. K. VENKATARAMAN

INDIA SPEAKING. By Twenty-eight contributors. First Indian edition. 1945 (Bombay: Vora & Co., Rs. 8/-)

The book is an excellently-planned collection of twenty-eight contributions by eminent men of India on the cultural, economic, social and political problems facing India today and written originally in order to place before the American public an 'unbiased and authoritative view of the Indian problem.' In this object the volume has succeeded immensely for the choice of contributors, on which depended the fulfilment of the object, has been a happy one. The professors, public leaders, administrators, journalists, industrialists and others who have contributed to the enterprise are all top men in their own fields and are noted for their balanced, unbiased and moderate views.

India is a vast sub-continent with its forty crores of people, scattered mostly over its 700,000 villages. The evils of a socio-economic character, poverty, disease, illiteracy, widowhood, caste system and rural indebtedness are to be found in every part of India and unfortunately a century or more of British rule

has done little to combat them on all fronts. Indian industry suffers from a sure gap in the absence of key and vital industries. The trade, tariff and transport policies are formulated to favour foreign economic interests. Indian nationals overseas are not properly looked after. Labour is growing conscious of its power but government legislation is unenlightened.

And this state of affairs continues in spite of India's richness in natural resources, her potential man and brain-power and her glorious traditions. Indian culture is unique and has something to teach to the war-torn humanity. Indian scientists have done wonderful work in spite of many handicaps. Indian soldiers have given a good account of themselves even though their hearts were elsewhere. No wonder then that, if India were free, she would be a great asset to the democratic forces of the world. A slave India will be an unhappy and frustrated India and might prove a source of danger to the world peace. A foreign government has neither the will nor the resources to solve India's problems.

Then let the world and American opinion judge between the powerful propaganda racket of British imperialism and the humble but praiseworthy attempt of a few to put India's case in the right perspective.

27 December 1945

AMBA PRASAD

INDUSTRIAL LOCATION. By Bimal C. Ghose. Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs No. 32. 1945 (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 6 as.)

Location of Industries is an important problem in the industrial development of a country. It depends upon various factors such as the availability of raw materials, of labour and capital. Accessibility to markets has also been an important location factor. Mr. Bimal C. Ghose has made an intensive study of the problem of location of Industry. He has shown how industrial concentration is to be found either in commercial centres or in coal and mineral-bearing regions. The railway-rate policy also favoured the ports as against internal centres. But there are certain evils of industrial concentration. These can be removed by the dispersal of industry. Ours is a country of vast distances and hence it is necessary that internal communications should be developed as early as possible. The development of hydro-electric power will exercise a strong influence in dispersing industrial production. Provincial autonomy will also raise the problems of regional development. The success of the T. V. A. experiment in the U. S. A. shows the value of regional decentralization.

5 February 1946

H. C. MALKANI

GAUTAMA BUDDHA. By S. Radhakrishnan. 1945 (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, Rs. 2/-)

The present booklet is a reprint from the proceedings of the British Academy Volume No. XXIV being the annual lecture on a master mind, delivered before the British Academy in June 1938.

On a master mind from the East, it is needless to say that the British Academy could not have made a better choice of a lecturer than that of Sir S. Radhakrishnan. With his well-known gifts of understanding and exposition, the learned author easily succeeds in making a master mind of remote and hazy antiquity, almost a *living* mind for the reader of today, with whom, with some historical imagination, he seems to have a communion in person. And herein, indeed, lies the great value of this little book. Shorn of uninspiring, scholastic, and arid details, one not only gets a clearer vision of the teachings that have an appeal for all ages, but is stamped also with a lasting impression.

Towards the end of the lecture, the author attempts the much-needed clearance of the generally prevalent misunderstanding of the Buddha's teaching on Nirvana and selflessness and shows why it cannot be right to consider him as an agnostic or a nihilist, despite his silence regarding ultimate metaphysical questions. The book would be intensely valued by all aspirants.

13 February 1946

S. K. SAKSENA

FAMINE. By Michael Asquith. 1943 (London: Oxford University Press, 2/- net)

A useful account of the famine relief work done by members of the British Quaker Relief Unit in Buzuluk during the Russian famine of 1921-23. Gives a vivid glimpse into the practical difficulties, administrative or otherwise, in regard to procurement, transport and distribution of supplies that would confront workers in famine relief.

MALNUTRITION. By Norah Curtis and Cyril Gilbey. 1944 (London: Humphrey Milford, 2/- net)

A factual narrative of varied Quaker experience in affording relief in Austria and Spain for malnutrition, wherein, unlike in famine, the object is uncertain, methods cannot be predetermined and the recipients cannot be designated in advance.

NUTRITION AND RELIEF WORK. 1945 (London: Published by the Council of British Societies for Relief Abroad in association with Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press, 5s.)

A manual of nutrition in its relation to relief work based on sound investigation into the elements of nutrition, nutritional requirements and the effects of nutrition and centred round the investigation of the need for food and of food habits....will be of immense practical use to intelligent amateurs engaged in relief work.

OUR STANDARD OF LIVING. By M. L. Dantwala. 1945 (Bombay: Padma Publications, Rs. 2/8/-)

An interesting and illustrated presentation of the Indian sub-human standard of living in terms of her *per capita* income, consumption of specific commodities, housing, literacy and medical attention.

THE TROPICAL FAR EAST. By J. S. Furnivall. 1945 (Oxford University Press, 6d. net)

An informed survey based on personal knowledge and experience of the underlying unity of this region, its economic geography, its people and their religious, social and political organization, their manners and customs and the impact of contact with the West.

BETTER TOWNS. By P. J. Griffiths. 1945 (Allahabad: Kitabistan, Rs. 2/4/-)

An Englishman's essay for Indian soldiers to help them in planning a better future in the post-war period in the light of the nexus between better towns and Indian industrialization.

MINERAL RESOURCES. By A. M. Heron. 1945 (Oxford University Press, As. 6)

A mine of useful information on the mineral resources of India including coal, iron and steel, gold and silver, manganese-ore, petroleum, mica, copper, lead, zinc, tin, bauxite etc.

PICTURE OF A PLAN. By Minoo Masani. 1945 (Bombay: Oxford University Press, Rs. 2/-)

A novel and attractive presentation of the implications and objectives of the Bombay plan with striking pictorial illustrations.

THE MODERN WORLD A POLITICAL STUDY SYLLABUS. By Yusuf Meherally. 1945 (Bombay: Padma Publications, Rs. 4/-)

A very useful guide to reading material on modern political ideas and doctrine, on international affairs, and on such movements as those of Labour, the Peasants and Youth.

THE UNTOUCHABLES OF INDIA. By Louise Ouwerkerk. 1945 (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1s. net)

A foreigner's approach—honest though not quite well informed—to the thorny Indian social question.

HOW INDIA IS GOVERNED. By N. S. Paldasani. Fourth Edition. 1945 (Bombay: New Book Co., Rs. 4/4/-)

A new edition of a handy, clearly written and up-to-date book on the governance of India, useful alike to the student and to the citizen.

PAKISTAN RECONSIDERED. By Shanti Prasad Varma. 1946 (Delhi: S. Chand & Co., 12 annas.)

A critical examination of the present Pakistan movement, with special reference to the difficult problems it raises in respect of boundaries, finance and defence.

STALIN-WELLS TALK. 1945 (Bombay: Vora & Co., Rs. 1/8/-)

An illuminating and exciting book giving glimpses into the master minds of Shaw, Wells, Stalin, Keynes and Ernest Toller on perplexing problems connected with the theory of class war, the infallibility of Marxism, existence of intellectual freedom in Communist Russia and revision of old definitions in view of the development of the new technician class.

SEVEN PAINTERS. By A. C. Ward. 1945 (London: Oxford University Press, Cloth boards, 3s. 6d.; lined paper wrappers, 2s. 6d.)

MERCHANTMEN AT WAR. 1944 (London : British Ministry of Information)

OCEAN FRONT. 1945 (London: British Ministry of Information, 1s. net.)

WITH LOVE AND BRICKBATS. By G. A. St. George. 1945 (Bombay: Thacker & Co., Rs. 5/-)

NO BRIDGE TO HEAVEN. By Alfred Wagg and Valerie Wagg. 1945 (Bombay: Thacker & Co., Rs. 7/14/-)

ARTICLES ON INDIA IN FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Cultural and Social

BOOKS ON INDIA. By Miriam S. Farley, *Far Eastern Survey*, 30 January 1946.

A concise but comprehensive bibliographical introduction to India. The selection of books is not only intelligent but reliable and impartial.

INDIAN SOOTH-SAYING. By K. Madhava Krishna Sarma, *Great Britain and the East*, December 1945.

ST. THOMAS AND INDIA. By The Right Rev. Stephen Neill, *The Spectator*, 2 December 1945.

An interesting discourse on the controversial question whether St. Thomas really did come to India and found a Church therein.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND INDIAN SOCIAL SERVICE. By L. N. Rao, *The Aryan Path*, January 1946.

BRITISH INDIANISTS. By Ranjee G. Shahani, *Great Britain and the East*, November 1945.

A sympathetic account of Sir William Jones, Charles Wilkins, Colebrooke, Horace Wilson, Sir Monier Williams, Sir Edwin Arnold, and Sir George Grierson who understood India, were versed in the languages and literatures of India and introduced them to the Western world.

Economic

POST-MORTEM ON THE BENGAL FAMINE. By Sydney D. Bailey, *Far Eastern Survey*, 19 December 1945.

A good survey, based on personal knowledge, of the Woodhead Commission Report.

POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES IN NORTHERN AND CENTRAL INDIAN STATES. By Sir William Barton, *The Asiatic Review*, January 1946.

A brief account of the historical background and an overdrawn picture of some important development schemes in States like Baroda, Gwalior, Indore, Rewa, Bhopal, Bikaner, Jaipur, Patiala, Kashmir etc.

TRANSPORT IN INDIA IN WAR-TIME. By Sir Edward Benthall, *The Asiatic Review*, January 1946.

An eulogistic account of the war-time work of the personnel engaged in the Indian railways and ports.

EMPLOYMENT POLICY IN INDIA DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD. *International Labour Review*, November 1945.

Statement of proposals of the Committee of the Viceroy's Council for promoting efforts to reconvert the war economy of the country to civilian production on employment problems of the transition period.

THE INDIAN INDUSTRIALIZATION PROGRAMME. *International Labour Review*, November 1945.

Gives particulars of the Indian Government's long-term plan of industrialization as stated by Sir Ardeshir Dalal at a meeting of the Policy Committee on Industries held at New Delhi on 5 October 1945.

BRITAIN'S EXPORTS TO INDIA. By R. V. Murthy, *Great Britain and the East*, December 1945.

An informed appraisal, based on personal study, of the possibilities of British exports, particularly of capital goods, to India, with particular reference to the dates of deliveries both of orders already placed and of those that will be placed in future, to the extent of priority Indian orders will receive, and to the probable costs.

INDIAN REACTIONS TO THE END OF THE WAR. By Banning Richardson, *Great Britain and the East*, November 1945.

A fairly objective depiction of the fears and hopes of the Indian agricultural, industrial and professional classes to the economic and political problems that emerged from the termination of the war.

THE BEVIN TRAINING SCHEME AND INDIAN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT. By E. Watson Smyth, *The Colonial Review*, December 1945.

A brief but useful account of the objectives and working of the Bevin Training Scheme in relation to the development of Indian engineering and heavy industries.

PLANNING AGAINST POVERTY. By Sir William Stempe, *Great Britain and the East*, November 1945.

An expert appraisal of two methods for expansion of irrigation to yield the earliest results—(A) by expanding existing gravity canal systems by means of (1) stabilizing the fluctuating (seasonal) sources of supply by providing storage; (2) increasing the available river flow by pumping into the canals from the sub-soil reservoir where suitable aquifers exist; (3) increasing the efficiency (duty) of the canal systems by a better distribution; (4) reducing percolation losses by (i) lining channels and/or (ii) regrading them and (B) by mechanical pumping for local irrigation—(i.e.,) lifting water from (1) tube-wells sunk in the great alluvial belts; (2) deep-set rivers flowing at a level too low to command the high riparian tracts by gravity flow; and (3) power-operated open-wells in non-alluvial areas.

SOME THOUGHTS ON INDIAN INDUSTRIAL PLANNING. By G. W. T., *The World Today*, December 1945.

A factual examination of the logic of the proposition that a capitalist State like India would be made to work for collectivist ends, with special reference to the Bombay Plan and the plans prepared by the Government of India.

INDIA'S MAN OF THE MOMENT. By Sir Alfred Watson, *Great Britain and the East*, November 1945.

An estimate of the work of Sir Ardeshir Dalal as Member for Planning and Development. Watson is of course very critical of Dalal's views that all enterprises should have at least seventy per cent of native capital and that the clauses in the Government of India Act 1935 forbidding discrimination against British subjects and British enterprise should be removed from the statute book.

INDIA'S FOOD PROBLEM. By Sir John Woodhead, *The Asiatic Review*, January 1946.

An informative estimate, based on his Report on the Bengal Famine, of certain aspects of the problem of increasing the food supplies and improving the Indian diet.

Political

THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY IN THE NEW INDIA. By Frank R. Anthony, *The Asiatic Review*, January 1946.

An interesting historical sketch of the Anglo-Indian community and its

contribution to war effort coupled with an account of their present conditions and needs.

THE ABORIGINAL IN THE FUTURE INDIA. By W. V. Grigson, *The Asiatic Review*, January 1946.

SOME PROBLEMS OF FUTURE SECURITY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA. By Lieut-General G. N. Molesworth, *The Asiatic Review*, January 1946.

A brief reference to India's security problems in the past and a tentative examination, with reference to the principles of the Security Charter and the economic, cultural, social and strategical factors, of the future security problems of the Indian Ocean Region with India as its centre.

HOW THE CONGRESS PARTY MAKES MISTAKES. By 'Satyagrahi,' *Great Britain and the East*, November 1945.

POMP AND CIRCUMSTANCE IN INDIA. By Sir Alfred Watson, *Great Britain and the East*, December 1945.

An account of the ceremonial splendour that confronts Mr. Burrows in India as the Governor of Bengal, together with ill-informed generalizations on the attitude of the East to pomp and circumstance.

DOCUMENTS

ASIA AND PEACE

The document which is republished below was submitted to the International Conference for world peace held at Bierville in 1926 under the auspices of certain French and German organizations. Among the signatories to the Memorandum are Mahommed Hatta, Foreign Minister of the Indonesian Republic, and Topchybachy of Azerbaijan—both countries now prominently on the world stage. Duong Van Giao, who is the signatory from Indo-China, is one of the leaders of the Annamite Nationalist Party, who, in turn, was imprisoned by the French and the Japanese.

The document is also important, as, for the first time, it stated in clear terms the relations of India to the freedom movements in Asia. The drafting of the Memorandum—which, though presented to a French Conference, is in English—was left to me by my colleagues. In view of contemporary developments, this document is of some historical value, and, therefore I venture to have it republished now.—K. M. PANIKKAR,

DELEGATION DE L'ASIE

Association

pour

L'Estuaire des Civilisations Orientales

BIERVILLE,

22 August, 1926.

ASIA AND PEACE

There is one thing which cannot fail to strike any one who studies the peace movements of Europe. It is the fact—which even your deliberations to-day have emphasized—that when European people think of peace they think of

it only in terms of Europe. In the imagination of European thinkers the world seems to be confined to the areas inhabited by European races. The vast continent of Asia containing as it does some of the most ancient civilizations, and holding the vast majority of the human population, and Africa, with its particular problems, do not seem to come into the picture at all. This, we submit with all humility, is a wrong point of view. If the world is to have permanent peace it must not be a local peace, a peace affecting only a few nations, but extending its beneficent reign over the whole of human kind.

Even from the point of view of Europe, the strategic centre of peace is Asia. It is there that European conflicts are developing. Those who believe that the progress of humanity can come not by diplomatic alliances and understanding but by the organization of society on the basis of justice and mutual toleration can easily see that the peace of Europe itself is threatened by the complications in Asia. The rivalry of European nations and the subjection of the Asiatic people constitute, in our opinion, the greatest dangers to world peace. Everywhere in Africa and in Asia European nations are competing with each other in an unholy race for the imperialistic exploitation of weaker peoples.

To our European friends of peace the raid of a few irregulars into the territory of Yugoslavia is of greater importance than a war in Mecca.

In China the conflicting interests and the clash of imperialist designs of various European powers have created a chaos which is in itself the negation of peace. While we talk here of establishing world peace, the European nations are subsidizing warfare in China, each to support its own interests and as if to proclaim to the world that these rivalries can end only in war. The dockyard-fortifications of Singapore are raising their menacing head. The *angel of peace* is indeed well-nigh strangled in the vice-like grip of imperialism, which, sitting entrenched in the subject populations of Asia, extends its tentacles to the nerve centres of European life.

The subjection of Asiatic peoples—of the population of India, Egypt, Indo-China and Indonesia—the economic and political subordination of China are equally a menace to lasting peace. The shadowy peace, which foreign governments establish by the force of their bayonets, is no peace at all. It is merely peace by terrorism. Such a peace is worse than war, because it raises in the hearts of men hatred—blazing, uncontrollable hatred—which sometime or other is likely to burst out. All have noticed how the European is hated throughout the East. Why? Is it because the Asiatics—the Chinese, the Indians or the Egyptians—are a barbarous people? No; but because all over Asia we feel that we are being held down mercilessly by the force of superior arms. Is this accumulation of hatred, which, though we may deplore, we cannot deny, an asset for peace, or is it its greatest enemy? If you wish for peace, your first work should be to eliminate the causes which make Asia hostile towards Europe, and to dissolve this vast accumulation of hatred. Establish a brotherhood of co-operation between Asia and Europe, and you would have taken the biggest step towards peace.

What is it that stands in the way of such a co-operation: it is the union of

European Powers for the exploitation of Asia and for the subordination of new peoples. European nations have indeed their rivalries against each other in Asia, but as against Asiatics they are one. All rivalry is sunk in a common desire for racial domination when it is a question of 'white-manity' against humanity. In the thought and mental background of European peoples there is already in existence a racial war. In Asia it is not the Englishman, or the Frenchman, or the Dutchman, but the European as against the Asiatic that exists. In a recent book written by a liberal thinker, Sir Leo Chizma Money, the argument is frankly put forward that Great Britain could not give self-government to India for fear that it would weaken the position of other European races. Mark you this argument. Great Britain in her relations with India is asked to take into consideration not the interests of India, of England, or of humanity, but of other European peoples.

Sir Leo Money is right. The whole problem of Asia centres round Great Britain's position in India. We do not want to say a word here about the relations between India and England; but to every student it must be clear that the problem of Asiatic peace is, if we may so express it, *the problem of the Indian triangle*. India is so placed geographically that any power which holds her can extend its influence to all sides. From the North-west frontier it can control Central Asia. From Burma it can extend its influence to South China, Siam, or Indo-China. The Indian sea from Singapore to Aden is entirely under its control. Indeed it is the triangular geographical formation of the British Empire in India that is the main problem which lovers of peace have to solve. It is this that in the freedom of India lies the keystone of world's peace.

Liberate the spirit of Asia and you will have peace—not a peace imposed by the sword, but a peace based on goodwill. The spirit of Asia is essentially pacific. In India we have rediscovered—after many centuries—the great doctrine of *Ahimsa* or non-violence of which Mahatma Gandhi is the apostle. The whole religion of Buddhism is based on this idea. Wherever Buddhism has permeated the spirit of peace is held in greater honour than the spirit of war. Help to liberate that spirit and you would have achieved your object.

At the present time the people of Asia are unable, because they are bound down, to put their whole weight into the cause of peace. And, friends, let it not be forgotten that a progress which excludes the vast majority of human beings, and affects only a fraction, can never be permanent. Can it be that Europe can progress without Asia? Can it be that whatever progress so achieved by the unaided efforts of Europe can be safe-guarded without the co-operation of Asiatic people. So if you earnestly desire peace, if you honestly desire to see a better state of affairs in the world, help in the movement for the freedom of the vast majority of the human race which is now bound down to dependence. Thus alone can peace be achieved. Let China, India and the rest of Asia be free. Then you would have built up a family of free people willing to live together in co-operation, and more than that you would have eliminated the most potent causes of war.

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CHRONICLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

INDIA, BRITAIN

- 1 January 1946** India and Britain signed a peace treaty with Siam at Singapore.
- 2 January 1946** The All-India States People's Conference which met at Udaipur under Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's presidentship passed a resolution urging that the British Government's proposals for Indian constitutional reforms should be based on the establishment of full and responsible administrations in the States and on the representation of the States people elected on a wide franchise in the constitution-making body.
- 3 January 1946** The Commander-in-Chief of India remitted the sentence of transportation for life passed by the Court Martial on three officers of the Indian National Army on charges of waging war against the King.
- 5 January 1946** The British Parliamentary Delegation arrived in Delhi.
- 9 January 1946** It was announced that Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Member for Planning and Development, Government of India, had resigned from the Executive Council for personal reasons.
- 12 January 1946** The Government of India issued a Demonetization Ordinance to deal with black-marketing in the country. Currency notes of the value of Rs. 500, Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 10,000 ceased to be legal tender from 12 January, 1946.
- 17 January 1946** Addressing the annual session of the Chamber of Princes Lord Wavell assured the former that there was no intention on the part of the British Government to initiate any change in the treaty rights and relationship with the Crown without their consent. He also expressed his hope that the Princes had no intention to stand in the way of the growth of India to her full stature or to hinder the political and economic advancement of their subjects.
- 21 January 1946** The newly elected Indian Legislative Assembly met.
- 24 January 1946.** Mr. G. V. Mavlan-
kar, the Congress candidate, was elected President of the Indian Legislative Assembly defeating Sir Cowasjee Jhangir, the Muslim League nominee, who was supported by the Government and the European Group.
- 26 January 1946** India celebrated her Independence Day by renewing her pledge to continue the struggle for national freedom.
Mr. Bevin announced in the Commons that Britain would waive repayment of £46,000,000 loan to Greece given in 1940-41 under the terms of an Anglo-Greek economic and financial agreement and that Parliament would be asked, in addition, to approve £10,000,000 credit to stabilize the Greek currency.
- 28 January 1946** Addressing the newly elected Central Legislative Assembly, Lord Wavell declared the British intention to establish a new Executive Council drawn from the political leaders and to bring about a constitution-making body or convention as soon as possible. He also expressed his hope and belief 'that the period of destructive work in the Assembly is near an end.'
- 29 January 1946** The Central Legislative Assembly passed the Congress Party's motion censuring the Government of India for the breach of promise made by the former Finance Member that the Bretton Woods Agreement would not be ratified unless previously approved by the Assembly.
- 30 January 1946** The British Government expressed willingness to review its treaty relations with Egypt

in the light of mutual experience and with 'due regard to the Charter of the United Nations.'

- 31 **January 1946** The Kabul Cultural Mission to India consisting of Mr. Ghulam Haidar Khan, Director of Education, Kabul Province, Mr. Farooq Shah, Director of Health and Sports and Prof. Sham Sher Ali began their tour with a visit to Amritsar.
- 6 **February 1946** The Secretary of State for India introduced a bill in the House of Lords to amend the Government of India Act 1935 for repealing the statutory provision requiring that three of the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council should be persons with ten years in the service of the Crown in India and one of them a lawyer and extending temporarily the Central Government's power to maintain certain economic controls in the provinces.
- 7 **February 1946** The termination of military administration and the resumption by the Government of India of civil administration in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands was announced.
- 8 **February 1946** Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Leader of the Muslim League Party, formed a Ministry in Sind on invitation from the Governor, 'as the leader of the largest party that had contested the elections.'
- 10 **February 1946** The British Parliamentary Delegation left India. Mahatma Gandhi's weekly *Harijan* made its appearance after a lapse of nearly three and a half years.
- 11 **February 1946** Congress Ministry was formed in Assam.
- 16 **February 1946** The fifth session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference met in Allahabad.
- 18 **February 1946** The Nationalization Act transferring the ownership of Britain's 250 year-old Bank of England to the State came into effect.
The Provincial elections, in the N.W.F. Province were over and the final party position in a House of 50 is Congress 30 including 19 Muslims, Muslim League 17, Nationalist Muslims 2, and Akali (Sikh) 1.
- 19 **February 1946** Attlee announced in the Commons that Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A. V. Alexander, the three British Cabinet Ministers, would go to India towards the end of March to discuss with leaders of Indian opinion for securing the widest measure of agreement as to the method of framing a constitution, setting up a constitution-making body and bringing into being an Executive Council having the support of the main Indian parties. They would act as representatives of the British Cabinet in India and carry its authority, though on major matters of policy they would refer back for Cabinet decision. Anything arising out of their discussions would be the subject of legislation by the Parliament.
- 23 **February 1946** Elections in the Punjab concluded and the final party position was as follows: Muslim League 75, Congress 51, Panthic Akali Sikhs 22, Unionist party 20 and Independents 7.
- 25 **February 1946** His Highness the Aga Khan and His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, met Mahatma Gandhi for constitutional discussions to explore the possibility of resolving the present deadlock.
- 27 **February 1946** An official Tibetan Goodwill Mission arrived in Delhi.
- 28 **February 1946** The Finance Member of the Government of India presented the first peace budget. Abolition of the Excess Profits Tax, increase in permanent help to provinces, heavy duty on imports of bullion and the proposal to appoint a Taxation Enquiry Committee were its main features.

2 March 1946 The South-African Indian Delegation arrived in India.

7 March 1946 Attlee announced in the Commons the Canadian decision to loan 1,250,000,000 dollars (Rs. 3,74,70,00,000) to Great Britain to enable her to meet the 'serious problems which she had to face until she has had an opportunity to restore her external income from the losses and destruction caused by the war.'

8 March 1946 Congress Ministry was formed in N. W. F. Province.

10 March 1946 Britain protested to Russia against the removal of Japanese plant and installations from Manchuria on the ground that they must be regarded as part of reparations, the distribution of which must be decided by all Allies jointly.

11 March 1946 Congress-Akali-Unionist Coalition Ministry was formed in the Punjab.

Dr. L. C. Jain, Head of the Department of Economics, Punjab University, was appointed Economic Adviser to the Allied Control Commission in Japan.

12 March 1946 Dr. Khare, Member for Commonwealth Relations, announced the decision of the Government of India to take counter-measures against South-Africa and give the prescribed three months' notice for the termination of India's trade agreement with South Africa.

The South African Indian Delegation led by H. H. the Aga Khan submitted a memorandum to Lord Wavell requesting the Indian Government to press on Smuts for 'a definite procedure of settlement in keeping with the ideals advocated' by him in the form of a Round Table Conference and failing that to announce immediate severance of diplomatic and economic relations with South Africa.

15 March 1946 In a resolution on the international situation, the

All-India Congress Working Committee emphasized the urgent need for ending foreign domination over countries of Asia and Africa and for the withdrawal of foreign armies from all such countries and added that peace and freedom could not grow out of the seeds of continuing conflict and war.

Attlee announced in the Commons that the British Cabinet Mission was going out to India 'resolved to succeed.' He added 'we cannot allow a minority to place their veto on the advance of a majority. . . with regard to the treaty, we are not going to hang out for anything for our own advantage which would be to the disadvantage of India.'

22 March 1946 A treaty between Britain and Trans-Jordan was signed in London.

28 March 1946 By 63 votes to 57 the Indian Central Assembly passed the third reading of the Finance Bill. The Muslim League voted with the Government.

The British Cabinet Mission held a Conference with the Provincial Governors.

28 March 1946 The terms of the treaty in which Britain agreed to recognize the Independence of Trans-Jordan were published in a White Paper. The pact provides for mutual assistance in case of attack and for full and frank consultation in all matters of foreign policy which may affect their common interests. An annexure to the treaty permits Britain to maintain armed forces in Trans-Jordan under certain conditions.

30 March 1946 The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry met in annual session in New Delhi. Several resolutions were passed bearing upon the failure of the Government of India in their post-war planning, the food situation and the effect of political changes on Indian commerce and industry.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA, AUSTRALIA & NEW ZEALAND

- 1 January 1946** The Governor of Burma appointed a Legislative Council of 34 members including three Europeans, three Indians and one Chinese. Four members of anti-Fascist League were invited to serve on the Council but they refused.
The Provisional Coalition Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam people of Indo-China was formally inaugurated in Hanoi.
- 5 January 1946** The United States resumed diplomatic relations with Siam.
- 6 January 1946** Dr. Soekarno broadcast from Jogokarta appealing to the Democracies to recognize the Indonesian 'Republic.'
- 9 January 1946** It was disclosed that the British Government had declined to receive a deputation from the Burma Anti-Fascist Peoples' League who wished to place before it their alternative proposals to the scheme outlined in the White Paper on Burma.
- 17 January 1946** The Lower House of the Dutch Parliament passed a resolution inviting the Government to send a commission of members of both Chambers to the Dutch East Indies as the House 'has no sufficient information to form an independent conclusion regarding the conduct of the Lieut.-Governor-General, Dr. Van Mook.'
- 22 January 1946** The British Government outlined in a white paper their plan to regroup the Malay States to form two separate administrations, namely the colony of Singapore and the Malayan Union comprising nine Malaya States and the Settlements of Penang and Malacca.
The Congress of the Anti-Fascist League adopted a resolution rejecting the British white paper scheme and declaring complete Independence as the goal of the Burmese.
- 23 January 1946** A Sino-Siamese Treaty was signed in Bangkok providing for the establishment of diplomatic relations and giving the nationals of each country resident in the other the right to establish schools and carry on any kind of trade or commerce.
- 24 January 1946** King Ananda of Siam inaugurated the Assembly which was charged with the responsibility for establishing new constitutional reforms leading to a new democratically elected Government.
- 29 January 1946** The Secretary of State for the Colonies announced that if Parliament approved the Government's policy in regard to resumption of the civil government at the end of the present Military Administration in Malaya, Mr. Malcolm Macdonald would be Malaya's Governor-General and Sir Edward Gent, Governor and Commander-in-Chief, and Mr. F. C. Gimson, the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony of Singapore.
- 30 January 1946** The Indian Rice Delegation led by Mr. M. A. Master discussed with the Burma Government at Rangoon questions relating to the export of rice to India from Burma.
- 31 January 1946** King Ananda of Siam appointed the popular leader, Mr. Kiang Aphaiwong as Siam's new premier.
- 3 February 1946** Sir Archibald Clark-Kerr the special British Envoy to Java, met Dr. Shariar, the Indonesian Premier, for an informal talk.
- 10 February 1946** In a statement of policy issued from the Hague, the Netherlands Government explained their new constitutional proposals for Indonesia—including immediate Commonwealth status to Indonesia with partnership in the Netherlands Kingdom which would consist of the Netherlands,

Indonesia, Surinam (Dutch Guiana) and Curacao (Dutch West Indies), provision for the determination of the period of transition during which an interim constitution was to be applied before Indonesia could finally be free to choose in what, if any, form of association with Netherlands, it wished to remain and freedom to decide her political future at the end of this transitional period; establishment of Indonesian citizenship for all born in Indonesia, freedom to exercise all civic rights, by Netherlands and Indonesian citizens, in all parts of the Kingdom; independent management of domestic affairs of the Indonesian Commonwealth by the proposed democratic representative body with substantial Indonesian majority, and a Cabinet formed in political harmony with this body and representative of the Crown as head of the Government's executive.

12 February 1946 Dr. Shariar met Dr. Van Mook to elucidate certain points in the Netherlands declaration of policy.

15 February 1946 The Paris Radio reported the conclusion of an agreement between France and Cambodia whereby the French Protectorate of Cambodia would become virtually an 'independent' State within the Union of Indo-China and the French Commonwealth. French advisers would assist King Sianouk and Cambodian administrators.

21 February 1946 It was announced that France had signed an agreement with the Chinese Government providing for the evacuation of northern Indo-China by the Chinese troops who were still occupying the territory: French renunciation of the extra-territorial rights in China; French grant to China of a free sector in Haiphong Port and of French sale to China of the Chinese section of the Yunnan railroad.

5 March 1946 Dr. Shariar declared

that he had been authorized by the Indonesian Republican government to negotiate with the Dutch on the basis of recognition of the Indonesian 'Republic.'

7 March 1946 An agreement was concluded between the representatives of the French Government and of the Annamite Nationalist movement (Viet Minh) under which the State of Annam would become a self-governing 'Dominion' within the 'French Union.'

9 March 1946 The first contingent of Dutch troops to replace the Indian and British troops landed in Java.

11 March 1946 Dr. Shariar protested to the Allied Commander-in-Chief against the landing of Dutch troops as amounting to a violation of the sovereignty of the 'Republic' of Indonesia.

13 March 1946 Dr. H. V. Evatt declared in the House of Representatives (Australia) that the Soviet Union's policy was directed to self-protection and security against future attack and that the real question was not whether Soviet territory and the zones of influence had expanded, but what were the underlying intention and purpose of the Soviet.

A Sino-French military agreement providing for the transfer of garrison duties and administrative posts in Indo-China from the Chinese to the French was signed. The agreement provided that the transfer should begin by 15 March and be completed by 21 March.

14 March 1946 The French Constituent Assembly passed a Bill conferring the status of French Departments on four French colonies while the Ministry for Colonies announced a free constitution for Cochin China with its own government, parliament, army and finances on the lines granted to Annam.

18 March 1946 The British Govern-

ment announced modifications of its plans for the establishment of the Malayan Union.

19 March 1946 Addressing a public meeting in Singapore, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru urged the need for a Union of Asiatic countries and stressed that the move should not be for aggression but for freedom throughout Asia.

20 March 1946 The Siamese Government of Mr. Kiuang Aphaiwong resigned after a defeat on a private member's bill to regulate living costs by 65 votes to 63.

25 March 1946 A Meeting of 'fight the famine' Commission was held in Singapore under the Chairmanship of Lord Killern to estimate the food requirements and resources of South-East Asia. Mr. K. L. Punjabi, Joint Secretary, Food Department of the Government of India, represented India. M. Pridipanomyong, former Regent and reputed instigator of the 1932 revolution, was chosen Premier by the Siamese Assembly.

26 March 1946 Nguyen Van Thinh was elected President of the proposed Government of Cochin China by six votes to two at a meeting of the Cochin China Consultative Council. Four French members of the Council

abstained from voting. Thinh was authorized to select Ministers for Public Health, Finance, Labour, Justice and Education, Public Works and Information with the French retaining control over Foreign and Military Affairs. The French Commissioner for Cochin China will revert to the status of an Adviser.

27 March 1946 Soebardjo, Abi-koesno and Otto Iskadar Dinanata three members of the original Soekarno Government, were arrested in an Indonesian nationalist 'purge' of elements threatening the authority of the Shariat administration.

It was officially announced that civil government would be resumed in the Union of Malaya and in Singapore on 1 April 'or as soon afterwards as can conveniently be arranged.'

31 March 1946 It was officially announced that the British Government had decided, as an act of clemency, not to institute further criminal proceedings against persons alleged to be guilty of collaboration with the enemy in British territories of South-East Asia where no atrocity or brutality was involved.

THE FAR EAST

4 January 1946 General MacArthur issued a directive outlawing 27 underground organizations including the Black Dragon Society and the Greater East Asia Society.

5 January 1946 The Chungking Government recognized the Independence of Outer Mongolia. The Chungking Government and Communist representatives reached an agreement on 'procedures for cessation of hostilities and restoration of communications.'

10 January 1946 Representatives of the Chungking Government and the Communists ordered immediate cessation of hostilities by their

armed forces.

12 January 1946 Premier Shidehara completed the reshuffling of the Japanese Cabinet necessitated by the forced resignation of five Japanese Ministers as a result of MacArthur's political purge directives. None of the new Ministers had any party affiliations.

Dr. Sun Fo, Chairman of the Chinese Legislative Council, declared that the Chinese Government had intended to set up a transitional political machinery and establish a democratic constitutional government.

13 January 1946 General MacArthur

authorized the Japanese Government to hold its first nation-wide elections since the surrender any time after 15 March 1946.

- 15 January 1946** A Soviet-American conference to decide urgent questions concerning northern and southern Korea opened in Seoul, capital of Korea, particularly to work out measures for constant co-ordination in administrative and economic spheres between the two occupation zones.

- 31 January 1946** Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek announced the end of one-party Kuomintang rule in China in favour of a democratic government by instructing the Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang to accept the results and decisions of the All party Political Consultative Conference.

- 6 February 1946** The Allied Commission comprising of five members of the Soviet Command and five members of the U. S. Command was set up in Korea with permanent seat in Seoul to consult with democratic, political and social organizations of both northern and southern Korea as the first step towards the establishment of a provisional Government in Korea.

- 25 February 1946** Chinese Communist forces formally merged with the Kuomintang Army as a result of the signing of an agreement by General Chang-chung, head of the Political Affairs Department of the National Military Council, Gen. Chou En Lai, the Communist leader and Gen. Marshall, the U. S. Ambassador. This official fusion put an end to the ten-year period of rivalry which divided

the Chinese Military Command. Under the agreement, between 300 and 400 divisions scattered throughout the country would be formed into 20 armies within 18 months and would be re-organized along western lines under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek who would be the Commander-in-Chief.

- 6 March 1946** General MacArthur approved the new Japanese Peace Constitution which denounces war and forbids the State to assume the rights of belligerency. It lays down that the Emperor shall perform only such State functions as are laid down in the Constitution and shall never have powers related to Government. It establishes governmental authority with predominant power vested in the elected Legislature as representative of the people.

- 8 March 1946** Peiping Executive Headquarters which consists of the Government, Communist and United States representatives set up to enforce cease-fire in China, sent an ultimatum to Communist forces in south Jehol adjoining Manchuria, to withdraw or be held responsible for starting civil war.

- 23 March 1946** The Chungking Government announced that they had received a note from the Soviet Government stating that all Soviet forces would be withdrawn from Manchuria by the end of April.

- 29 March 1946** Gen. MacArthur ordered the Japanese Government to delay the seating of 30 newly appointed members of the House of Peers until his staff had been satisfied that they were not 'undesirable personnel.'

THE NEAR EAST AND MIDDLE EAST

- 4 January 1946** 'Tass' agency reported that political turmoil had broken out in the central Iranian province of Yezd.

- 6 January 1946** Dr. Sarajoglu, the Turkish Prime Minister, denied that the Soviet Union had any right to the Turkish border pro-

- vinces of Kars and Ardahan which joined Turkey as a result of the plebiscite agreed to between Russia and Turkey.
- 10 January 1946** King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia and King Farouk of Egypt met at Suez.
- 20 January 1946** The Iranian Premier and his entire Cabinet resigned twenty-four hours after the formal presentation of the Iranian complaint to the Security Council in London.
- 25 January 1946** Three Egyptian Ministers belonging to the Kotla party resigned on the ground that the Government's delegation to the U. N. O. had failed to press for Egypt's national demands, including the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt.
- 26 January 1946** M. Ghavam Sultanch, three times Premier of Iran, succeeded Ibrahim Hakim as Premier.
- 30 January 1946** General Sir Alan Cunningham, High Commissioner for Palestine, informed the Palestine Arab Higher Committee that the British Government had decided to permit 1500 Jews to enter Palestine monthly pending completion of the Anglo-American Commission of Enquiry.
- 31 January 1946** The Iraqi Cabinet resigned.
- 15 February 1946** M. Nokrashy Pasha, the Egyptian Prime Minister, submitted the resignation of his Cabinet to the King.
- 16 February 1946** Mr. Ismail Sidky Pasha, an Independent, active in financial and real estate circles formed a new Egyptian Cabinet. It was announced that Turkey and Iran signed a preliminary agreement for a treaty of mutual assistance in the second week of February 1946.
- 24 February 1946** The Syrian Prime Minister declared that he had decided to enter into general negotiations with France only 'on equal terms' and after a French diplomatic representative in Syria had been normally appointed.
- 14 March 1946** Following the rejection by Sidky Pasha of its demands for representation on the Egyptian delegation to negotiate revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, the Wafdist Party issued a manifesto saying that it would not be bound by the results of the negotiation. The Wafdist demands were that Nahas Pasha should head the delegation, that Wafd members should be in a majority, and that the Wafd should be given an assurance that new elections would be held soon.
- 20 March 1946** It was disclosed in Tehran that about 3,000 Kurdish tribesmen were attacking three Iranian garrisons near the Iranian-Iraq frontier. It was stated that the Kurds from Iran and Iraq and some speaking a Turkish dialect similar to that spoken in Northern Azerbaijan were involved in the fighting.
- 24 March 1946** The first contingent of French troops left the Lebanon in conformity with the agreement between France and the Lebanon.
- 25 March 1946** The Arab League Council unanimously passed a resolution supporting Egypt's 'national aspiration.'
- 30 March 1946** Turkey and Iraq signed a treaty of friendship.

THE BRITISH DOMINIONS AND COLONIES

[OTHER THAN IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA]

- 4 January 1946** It was announced that Sir Harold MacMichael would visit Malta to discuss proposals for a new constitution with leading personalities.
- 21 January 1946** F. M. Smuts announced in the Union Parliament that the Union Government would

introduce a Bill during the current session to control the acquisition as well as lease of fixed property by Asiatics from Europeans in Natal.

6 February 1946 The Secretary of State for the Colonies announced in the Commons that Sir Charles Brooke, the Raja of Sarawak, had ceded Sarawak to the British Crown and it would be a Crown Colony.

15 March 1946 The Asiatic Land Tenure Bill was introduced in the South African House of Assembly. It seeks to control the acquisition as well as the lease of fixed property by Asiatics from Europeans in Natal and Transvaal except for certain exempt areas which were specified. Regarding franchise Indians will be represented in the Senate by two and in the Assembly by three Europeans.

17 March 1946 In his Saint Patrick's Day broadcast Premier DeValera declared that Irish partition constituted an offence which could never

be forgotten. While the partition continued there would be no true understanding between Britain and Eire. 'We deny the British the right to impose it' he added.

27 March 1946 The Colonial Secretary announced in the Commons that two M. Ps.—Lt-Col. Rees Williams (Labour) and Capt. Gammons (Cons)—would visit Sarawak to confirm by independent inquiry whether the proposal of the Raja of Sarawak for its cession to H. M. G. was broadly acceptable to the native communities.

28 March 1946 New Constitution came into force in Gold Coast which increased the representation from 14 unofficial members to 18 elected members and 12 official and nominated members. Thus Gold Coast became the first British colony in Africa in which African members would have an unofficial majority in its legislature.

AMERICA

5 January 1946 A revolt of the right-wing 'sinarquis' broke out in Leon in the State of Guanajuato, Central Mexico.

21 January 1946 Over 8 lakhs of U. S. steel workers went on strike, the greatest single strike in U. S. history.

14 February 1946 The White House announced the resignation of Mr. Averell Harriman, U. S. Ambassador to Russia, and the appointment of Lieut.-General Walter Bedell Smith as his successor.

19 February 1946 Mr. Henry Wallace, Secretary for Commerce stated that President Truman would run for the Presidentship in the 1948 elections.

12 March 1946 The U. S. State Department announced that it had received reports that Soviet armed forces and heavy military combat equipment were moving south from the Soviet frontier towards Tcheran and the western borders of Iran and that the Department had asked the Soviet Government to explain the reason for the troop movements.

25 March 1946 Welcoming the Security Council to the U. S. A. Mr. Byrnes issued a stern warning on behalf of the U. S. A. that nations must not take the law into their own hands and leave questions of honour to the ordeal of battle.

EUROPE

5 January 1946 Two Rumanian opposition parties—National Peasants and National Liberals—agreed to nominate their representatives to

join the Government as recommended in the Moscow decision of the Big Three Foreign Ministers.

7 January 1946 The Polish Govern-

ment formally nationalized all basic industries by accepting the decree passed by the Polish Parliament taking over the control of banks, mines, communications and public utilities.

- 8 January 1946** E. A. M. leaders demanded that the Regent should admit left-wing elements to the Greek Cabinet as the only way out of the 'present political and economic chaos' resulting from a general strike.
- 11 January 1946** The Albanian Constituent Assembly declared Albania a Republic.
- 20 January 1946** Gen. de Gaulle resigned as head of the French Government on the ground that he had accepted power subject to the fulfilment of the condition that until the new elections, his Government should be given enough latitude by the Assembly to govern without being challenged by the Assembly with excessive frequency. He resigned now as that condition was not fulfilled.
- 23 January 1946** M. Felix Gouin was elected for a term as Head of the French Government in succession to General de Gaulle by 497 out of 555 votes.
- 24 January 1946** The three leading parties in the French Constituent Assembly—Communists, Socialists and M. R. P. (Catholic Left)—issued a joint statement confirming that they had reached an agreement to form a Coalition Government. One important clause in the agreement urged severance of French diplomatic relations with Spain.
- 26 January 1946** M. Felix Gouin completed the formation of his Cabinet which included six Communists, seven Socialists, six M. R. P. and one non-party man.
- 31 January 1946** Yugoslavia's new constitution proclaiming the nation as a Federal Republic was unanimously approved by the Constituent Assembly. Marshal

Tito was acclaimed Prime Minister.

- 6 February 1946** The Constitutional Commission of the French Assembly approved a resolution conferring full rights of citizenship on all inhabitants of the French Empire.
- 10 February 1946** Russia went to the polls to elect representatives to the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet—the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.
- 15 February 1946** The French Constituent Assembly decided to send a delegation to Greece to investigate the Greek political situation.
- 18 February 1946** The Belgian Prime Minister M. Van Acker tendered the resignation of his Cabinet consequent on the results of the elections to the Chamber of Deputies held on 17 February in which the Right-wing Catholic party (who favour the return of King Leopold to the throne) won 92 out of 202 seats, the Socialist party of Acker came second with 70 seats, the Communists captured 23, the Liberals 16 and the Democratic Union Party one seat.
- 27 February 1946** It was reported that the Franco-Spanish frontier had been closed.
- 4 March 1946** Marshal Oustaf Mann-erheim, President of Finland, resigned.
M. Juho Paasikivi, the Finish Prime Minister, succeeded Mann-erheim as President of Finland.
- 15 March 1946** Russia's new five-year plan for 1946-50 to restore the national economy was put before a joint session of both Chambers of the Supreme Soviet.
- 16 March 1946** Moscow Radio announced that, following the recent elections, Stalin had tendered the resignation of his Government to the Supreme Soviet which requested Stalin to form a new Government.
- 25 March 1946** The French Foreign Minister handed a new French note on the subject of Spain to the British and U. S. Ambassadors

to France proposing the application of economic sanctions against Spain by Britain, France,

U. S. and Russia.

31 March 1946 Greece went to the polls.

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

- 5 January 1946** The U. S. State Department disclosed that the Soviet Government had informed them that she did not intend to sign the Bretton Woods Agreement at the present time.
- 7 January 1946** Mr. Byrnes, the U. S. Secretary of State, announced the formation of a five-man committee to study the problem of controls and safeguards for atomic energy in the proposed United Nations Commission.
- 10 January 1946** The General Assembly of the United Nations Organization opened in Westminster, London. M. Henri Spaak, the Belgian Foreign Minister, was elected the first President of the Assembly.
- 17 January 1946** The French Government accepted the Three-Power suggestion for the World Peace Conference to be held in Paris on 1 May, 1946.
- 21 January 1946** Russia and Ukraine respectively asked that the situations in Greece and Indonesia be brought before the Security Council.
- 25 January 1946** The Security Council decided that the Iranian, Indonesian and Greek issues should be placed on the agenda of its meeting on 28 January, 1946.
- 28 January 1946** Iran presented her case against Russia to the Security Council requesting the Council's intervention under Article 31 of the Charter.
- 29 January 1946** Russia challenged the validity of Iran's appeal to the Security Council to discuss the Azerbaijan issue on the ground that the Iranian charges were made by a Government no longer in power and the claims had no sufficient grounds for action by the Council, that the Charter recognized bilateral talks to settle dispute and that she was ready for negotiations with Iran.
- 31 January 1946** The International Scafarers' Conference opened in London and was attended by representatives of the International Transport Workers' Federation and International Mercantile Marine Officers' Union. Mr. Surat Ali represented the Indian Seamen's Union. The conference discussed recent developments regarding wages and working conditions.
- 1 February 1946** The General Assembly of the United Nations elected Mr. Trygve Lie, Foreign Minister of Norway, as Secretary-General to the United Nations.
- 6 February 1946** The Security Council completed the election of 15 judges to the International Court of Justice.
- 11 February 1946** The secret agreement signed at Yalta on 11 February, 1945 by the Big Three was published. It provided for Russian declaration of war against Japan in two or three months after German surrender on the following conditions: the maintenance of the *status quo* in the outer Mongolian People's Republic, restoration of southern Sakhalin and Kurile Islands to Russia, internationalization of the port of Dairen and recognition of Russia's pre-eminent interest in Port Arthur as a naval base, for retention of China's full sovereignty in Manchuria and conclusion of an alliance between Russia and China.
- 14 February 1946** The United Nations General Assembly unanimously adopted the Big Five food resolution. The first part of the General Assembly session concluded.

The Far Eastern Commission Delegation which went to Japan to gather first hand information on the situation there returned to Washington.

5 March 1946 In a speech at Fulton, Mr. Churchill pleaded for a fraternal association of English-speaking peoples on both sides of the Atlantic in order to cry halt to the expansionist and proselytizing tendencies of the Soviet Union.

8 March 1946 U. S. called upon Russia to withdraw immediately all Russian troops from Iran on the ground that the maintenance of Soviet forces in Iran against her wishes would be contrary to the assurances contained in the Big Three declaration of 1943 and the United Nations Charter.

11 March 1946 International Monetary Conference opened in Savannah. Canada, Sir C. D. Deshmukh, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, represented India, with Mr. J. V. Joshi and Mr. H. D. Coyley as his Advisers.

13 March 1946 Stalin declared that Churchill's Fulton Speech was 'dangerous' and calculated to sow discord and hinder collaboration between Britain and the Soviet Union, and that Churchill had friends not only in Britain but

also in the United States. 'It must be noted that Mr. Churchill and his friends bear a striking resemblance to Hitler and his friends.' Switzerland signed a treaty with China renouncing extra-territorial rights in China.

18 March 1946 The inaugural meeting of Governors of the World Fund and Bank closed. It elected Canada, Netherlands, Belgium, Poland, Greece, Chile and Cuba as the seven Executive Directors for the Bank, and Canada, Belgium, Netherlands, Mexico, Brazil, Egypt and Czechoslovakia for the Fund, to go with directorship seats automatically accorded to U. S., Britain and India.

19 March 1946 Iran formally lodged her protest with the Security Council against the Soviet attitude.

27 March 1946 The Far Eastern Commission established a new committee to study disarmament and dissolution of Japanese armed forces and disposition of armaments and military equipment.

The Soviet delegation walked out of the Security Council session when its motion for postponement of the hearing of the Iranian dispute until 10 April was defeated by nine votes to two.

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THE FOREIGN POLICY OF TURKEY SINCE MUDROS (1918)

By I. H. QURESHI

bled white as the result of a superhuman effort in fighting for its very existence, the Ottoman Empire lay prostrate at the feet of the victor. The Army had fought desperately in the face of a certain defeat; it had been ill led; its equipment was antiquated and inferior; the Arabs and the Christian minorities had revolted and joined the enemy; disease had been rampant and massacres of Turks frequent. The futility of any further attempt was obvious; therefore, the Turkish Government signed an armistice with the Allies at Mudros in the island of Lemnos on 30 October 1918.

The war had been fought to save democracy and President Wilson had enunciated his lofty principles on which the structure of a new world was to be based. The Professor-President, however, had not reckoned with the tortuous diplomacy of Europe. The Turks, susceptible to the propaganda of the democracies, earnestly believed that the principle of self-determination would take away their empire but would leave their homelands in their hands. They were soon to be undeceived. For the Allies had contracted no less than four secret treaties and agreements regarding the future of their country.

The first of these was the Constantinople Agreement of 18 March, 1915 between Great Britain, France and Russia. It promised Russia Constantinople, Eastern Thrace upto the Enos Media line including the European coast of the Sea of Marmora and the Dardanelles, the Ismia Peninsula in Asia Minor, the islands in the Sea of Marmora and the islands of Imbros and Tenedos.

The second was the secret Treaty of London, dated 26 April, 1915 between Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy. This promised Italy, so far as Turkey was concerned, Rhodes, the Dodecanese and 'a just share of the Mediterranean region adjacent to the province of Adalia'.

The third was the Sykes-picot Agreement of 16 May, 1916 between Great Britain, France and Russia which mainly concerned the Arab provinces of the Empire but which also promised France, Cilicia and the anti-Taurus area and to Russia, four provinces in Eastern Asia Minor and a portion of Northern Iraq.

The fourth was the Agreement of St. Jean de Maurienne signed in April 1917 by Great Britain, France and Italy. This promised Italy the Mediterranean coast of Turkey from the border of Cilicia upto and including Smyrna together with a wide sphere in the interior of Asia Minor where Italy was recognized to have 'special interests.'

In spite of these agreements and with full knowledge of them, Lloyd George had, to placate Indo-Muslim opinion, announced on 5 January, 1918 that the Allies were 'not fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race. . . .' On 8 January, 1918, President Wilson had urged that Turks should retain the regions where they were in a majority. It was obviously

impossible to reconcile these statements with the commitments of the Allies.

The elimination of Russia might have simplified the situation, but two new factors emerged to create fresh complications. The first of these was that Great Britain and France were suspicious of Italy and did not like to see her installed in Anatolia where she might become a troublesome neighbour. The other was that M. Venizelos had dethroned King Constantine and dragged Greece into the war on the side of the Triple Entente on 30 June, 1917. The Greeks made an important contribution in defeating Bulgaria and cutting the communications between Turkey and the Central Powers. M. Venizelos was an ardent supporter of Greek expansion and he lost no time in advancing large claims on behalf of his country. He demanded the western coast of Asia Minor from the Sea of Marmora to Makri, opposite Rhodes. This claim was opposed by Italy, because she had been promised this area and did not want it to be handed over to Greece, and by President Wilson, because it came into conflict with his principle of self-determination. The entire area including the important harbour of Smyrna was predominantly Turkish in population; besides, its economic importance as an outlet for the products of Anatolia was supreme. But Lloyd George who had inherited extreme hatred for the Turks from his political preceptor, Gladstone, was not deterred from pursuing his policy of liquidating the Turkish State.

M. Venizelos also put forward the idea of creating an Armenian State in Eastern Asia Minor, even though they were in a minority. This proposal was found impracticable because no Great Power was willing to make the sacrifices necessary in establishing the rule of a small unwar-like minority over a large war-like majority. The mandate was offered to the United States of America and she refused to shoulder such an impossible burden.

Greek claims over Smyrna and its hinterland, however, found recognition. The Italians had landed troops at Adalia in March and they occupied the coast line opposite Rhodes in May. The Supreme Council consisting of President Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George, to prevent the Italians from occupying Smyrna, permitted the Greeks to land their forces. To justify such an outrageous decision, it was given out that the Greeks of Smyrna were in danger of a massacre. Foreign observers including British officers in the area did not accept the view that there was any danger of a Greek massacre. On 15 May, however, the Greeks landed and the occasion was marked by a terrible massacre of large numbers of Turkish civilians, women and children.

The Turks were not so blind as not to see the portents. Four days after the Greek landing, General Mustafa Kemal was sent by the Turkish Government to Samsun on the Black Sea to inspect the troops in that command. A Congress of Nationalists met at Erzerum in July and a second at Sivas in September where a provisional government was formed. In January 1920 a group of Turkish deputies in the Constantinople Parliament drew up the famous National Pact which was adopted by the Nationalist Government of Angora. This pact defined the boundaries of the Turkish homeland and demanded political as well as economic freedom for this area. Constantinople was under Allied occupation and the Sultan was virtually a prisoner. The

Constantinople Parliament had shown some independence and therefore it incurred the wrath of the British High Command. On 18 February the Turkish war office was occupied by Indian soldiers, the Chamber of Deputies was forcibly closed and such deputies as were suspected of having sympathies with the Nationalists were arrested. The Government at Constantinople was forced to take measures against the Kemalists. The Sultan suspected the Nationalists of Republican tendencies and sent forces against them.

As if all this was not enough to exasperate Turkish feeling, the terms dictated by the Allies at the Treaty of Sevres confirmed the worst fears that the most pessimistic Turks could have entertained. It gave Eastern Thrace outside the Chatalja lines (about 18 miles from Constantinople) to Greece. The Straits, the adjoining coast and territorial waters, the islands in the Sea of Marmora and Lemnos, Imbros, Tenedos, Samo-thrace and Mitylene were to be neutralized. The British, French and Italian Governments, however, could maintain military, naval or air forces. A Commission was to supervise the administration of the Straits. Representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, the United States of America and Russia with two votes each, and those of Greece, Rumania, Bulgaria and Turkey with one vote each were to constitute the Commission. Greece was to administer Smyrna and its nearer hinterland, a local Parliament was to be set up, which after five years might vote by a majority for incorporation in Greece. An independent Armenia was created, whose boundaries were to be defined by President Wilson and Turkey did not possess the right to demur. Turkey was to renounce her sovereignty over the Arab lands in her empire, recognize the annexations and protectorates declared by the Allies, grant autonomy to Kurdistan, reduce her army and *gendarmerie* to a total strength of 50,000 without tanks, artillery and aircraft, and her fleet to thirteen lightly armed small craft. The Capitulations and the Foreign post offices were to be restored.

The acceptance of these terms by the Constantinople Government destroyed the vestiges of prestige which it might have commanded in Turkey. The Turks, far from being daunted, began to muster strong under the Nationalist banner and rather than accept such terms made a resolve to fight to the last man to save their country from slavery and injustice.

In October the Nationalists, determined to save Turkish and Kurdish districts from being handed over to Armenia according to President Wilson's award, occupied them and also gained Kars and Ardahan. The growing power of the Nationalists as well as the death of King Alexander of Greece and, consequent upon the defeat of M. Venizelos, the recall of King Constantine induced the Allies to review the position. In March 1921 a Conference was held at London where the Turkish Government and Greece were represented. The Allies were willing to make some concessions to the Turks, which even the Nationalists were willing to consider, but the Greek Government, secretly encouraged by Lloyd George, had become more bellicose and in spite of insistent counsels of Colonel Metaxas decided upon a grand offensive. An offer of mediation by the Allies was refused by Athens. The Greeks were repulsed at Sakaria before Angora. On 30 October, 1921 the French evacuated Cilicia

and handed over a large amount of war material to the Turks who had also received help from Russia. The Greeks were exhausting themselves in holding a hostile land and their line of communications was dangerously extended. In July 1922 they asked for permission to occupy Constantinople. On 4 August Lloyd George expressed his confidence in the Greek Army's capacity to hold its ground; on 26 August, the Nationalists attacked and routed the Greeks, who, as a final act of vandalism set fire to the city of Smyrna before evacuation.

Having cleared Asia Minor of the Greeks, the Nationalists marched towards Constantinople and the Dardanelles. On 23 September the three Powers invited the Turks to a conference; on 25 September Lloyd George issued a statement that Great Britain would not fight for Eastern Thrace but would fight for the freedom of the Straits. An armistice was signed at Mudania on 11 October which provided for the evacuation of the Eastern Thrace by the Greeks. On 19 October Rafet Pasha entered Constantinople with 126 *gendarmes* and during an audience with Sultan Muhammed VI on 29 October, he demanded the dismissal of his cabinet. The Sultan temporized. On 1 November the office of the Sultan was abolished and the Caliphate was vested in the House of Osman and the Caliph was to be elected by the National Assembly. On 17 November, the Sultan left Constantinople on board the British ship *Malaya*. Abdul Mejid, son of Sultan Abdul Aziz, was elected Caliph.

II

On 20 November the President of the Swiss Confederation opened the Lausanne Conference. Ismet Pasha, the present President of the Turkish Republic, led the Turkish delegation. Lord Curzon and M. Venizelos led the British and Greek delegations respectively. The Allies, Japan, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey were represented. In December M. Chicherin came on behalf of Russia. The Conference dispersed for a short time in February because the differences on some vital points were found to be irreconcilable; however it met again on 23 April, 1923 and the Treaty was signed on 24 July, 1923. Ismet proved himself to be a shrewd diplomat; he was able to exploit the differences between Greece and Italy, England and France, and the Western Powers and Russia. He was greatly helped by the facts that the Turkish demands were just and moderate and that the military position was in their favour. The War had bred a strong pacifist feeling in the Allied countries, and Lloyd George's sabre-rattling after the Nationalist success in driving out the Greeks had resulted in the fall of his government.

The Treaty of Lausanne gave Imbros and Tenedos back to Turkey. Italy obtained the Dodecanese; Greece retained the other islands. The Maritza became the boundary between Greece and Turkey, Karaghach a suburb of Adrianople, on the west of the river, was, however, given to Turkey. A demilitarized zone of eighteen miles in depth was set up on each side of the boundaries of Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria from the Aegean to the Euxine. Turkey's special interest in the straits was recognized, though with serious limitations. Four zones (one on each side of the Bosphorous and the Dar-

danelles) were demilitarized; they were closed to the Allied and opened to the Turkish forces. Turkey could maintain a garrison, not exceeding a maximum of 12,000 men, in Constantinople; the demilitarized area could be used for passage of her troops, and her fleet could anchor in the demilitarized waters. The power and functions of the Straits Commission were greatly reduced and it was put under the presidency of Turkey and elaborate rules were drawn up regarding the passage of warships and merchantmen in accordance with the neutrality or belligerency of the various Powers concerned. Turkey regained Smyrna and Eastern Thrace, her forces were not to be limited, and Kurdish autonomy was not mentioned. The Capitulations, the Foreign Post Offices and the proposed control of Turkish finances also disappeared. A convention appended to the Treaty and signed by Turkey and Greece in January 1923 provided for a compulsory exchange of Turkish subjects of the Greek orthodox church and Muslim subjects of Greece. The Greeks of Constantinople and the Turks of Western Thrace were exempted. The exchanged communities could take their immovable property with them, but the immovable property was registered and valued by a Mixed Commission under a neutral chairman. The Greeks had been treated well under the Ottoman Empire, they had been prosperous and they had enjoyed cultural, ecclesiastical, scholastic and judicial autonomy under the famous 'millet' system defined by Professor Toynbee as 'a minority corporation recognized by the public law of the land'. But they had thrown in their lot with the invaders and participated in the persecution and massacres of the Turks, engendering deep-seated animosity and hatred in the hearts of the majority. On two points the Turks had to yield. Turkey did not get a war indemnity from Greece and the question of Mosul, which was claimed by Turkey, was left to direct negotiations between Turkey and Great Britain, and, if they failed to reach an agreement, it was to be referred to the League of Nations.

Mustafa Kemal rightly called this Treaty the greatest diplomatic triumph in the recent history of Turkey. The old Ottoman Empire was dead, but from its ashes, Phoenix-like, rose the vigorous and modern State of Turkey. The Empire had long been a liability rather than a source of strength; discontent, treachery and disruption were rampant; the Turks had neither the resources nor the energy to hold the jarring elements together. The authors of the National Pact had realized the futility of such an attempt, specially in the face of such an overwhelming defeat as had brought about the Armistice of Mudros. By concentrating their attention on the development of their own land, the Turks, numerically so small, could save themselves from destruction. Hitherto wars fought to save the Empire had kept the Turks busy on the battlefield, constructive effort was in abeyance, civil pursuits and economy were in the hands of the Greeks and the Jews. In the creation of a proper habitat for such a State, the Turks had succeeded wonderfully. Among the victims of the First World War, they were the only defeated nation who had been able to reverse the decision of the victor and who obtained a negotiated Peace, a treaty which had not to be denounced at the first opportunity.

The relations between the Nationalist Turks and Russia upto the Treaty of

Lausanne illustrate the sound political sense of new Turkey. During the days of her dire distress Turkey received substantial help from Russia. The Communist Revolution had reduced Russia to the position of a pariah in the comity of nations, and Allied military intervention had demonstrated to Russia the feeling of the Victors. The Nationalist Turks also were the makers of a revolution and therefore there grew up a unity of interests between the two. A temporary complication grew up by the activities of Enver Pasha. This brilliant and impulsive general had been almost a dictator in war-time Turkey and was greatly responsible for her entry into the war on the side of Germany. In 1919, therefore, he was sentenced to death. He, however, escaped to Russia and was present at the Baku Conference of Eastern Peoples held under the auspices of the Bolsheviks. He and Kemal had never seen eye to eye, because their policies were fundamentally antagonistic. Enver was a believer in the Ottoman Empire, Kemal was the advocate of a national Turkish State; Enver was a pan-Islamist, Kemal was opposed to the idea; Enver was a pan-Turanist, Kemal considered the idea chimerical. The emergence of Kemal as the leader of new Turkey was the end of all that was dear to Enver, therefore he naturally tried to intrigue with Russia to overthrow Kemal. Russia was aware of the fact that if Enver came to power, Turkey would try to wean away the Muslim Tartar and Turkish population from Russian domination. Such a possibility was to be avoided, hence Russia backed Kemal and signed the Soviet-Anatolian Treaty of 16 March, 1921. Being foiled in his plans to enlist Russian sympathy, Enver, in the summer of the same year, reached Caucasia where he met a number of his supporters from Turkey. He planned a *coup d'état* against Kemal, who protested vehemently to Russia. The Soviet Union intervened and forcibly prevented Enver from entering Russia. Enver then escaped to Bukhara to assume the leadership of a movement to overthrow Russian over-lordship. On 4 August, 1922 he was killed in action against the Communists. On 13 December, 1921, the Soviet Government sent a military mission under Michael Frunze who gave the Turks valuable advice. More help was sent later under Aralov.

The Nationalists were, therefore, under great obligation to Russia. At Lausanne, as well, they received valuable help from her representative, M. Chicherin, who was more than a match to Lord Curzon. Russia was interested in the creation of a strong Turkey and because her naval power was weak, she advocated the closure of the Straits to all warships. She also advocated the new sovereignty of Turkey over the Straits. M. Chicherin, rather than accept the compromise accepted by the Turks at Lausanne, left the conference. The Turks, moved by a sense of greater realism, did not want to alienate the Western Powers completely nor to become entirely dependent for their existence on the Soviet Union, hence they accepted the best terms they could get as the result of negotiations. Turkey, however, continued her policy of friendship with Russia. In 1925, partly to offset the unfavourable award of the Council of the League of Nations with regard to Mosul, Turkey and Russia signed a Treaty of Neutrality and Friendship. The two States agreed to refrain from aggression against each other or joining hostile coalitions. Four

years later the treaty was renewed. Russia also helped Turkey by loans of money and technicians to enable her to carry out a programme of economic reconstruction and development.

The Treaty of Lausanne had left the question of Mosul to be decided by direct negotiations, or, in case of disagreement, by reference to the League of Nations. The negotiations dragged on for four years. Lloyd George's policy had left a legacy of suspicion and hatred. British agents had also promised the Kurds an independent Kurdistan. It was hoped that the proposed State would be carved out of Iraq, Turkey and Persia. The Turks, afraid of losing more territory, advanced the doubtful ethnological argument of racial affinity between the Turks and the Kurds. To prevent the British from creating further disruption, they insisted on acquiring the vilayet of Mosul.

Sir Percy Cox went as British envoy to Constantinople to negotiate an agreement, but the negotiations proved abortive. Thereupon, in August 1924, the matter was referred to the Council of the League of Nations, which appointed a commission of three, a Swede, a Hungarian and a Belgian. After eight months, the commission recommended unanimously that if the British mandate over Iraq could be continued for twenty four years, the vilayet should remain with Iraq, otherwise it should go to Turkey. In September 1925 the Council took cognizance of the report. Turkey insisted that the Council could only mediate and that it had no power to arbitrate. Its decision could not be binding unless Great Britain and Turkey both assented to it. The Council referred the point to the Permanent Court of International Justice which ruled that the Treaty gave the Council the power of arbitration and that its decision was unanimous. The Council gave a unanimous verdict in favour of Iraq on two conditions: that the British mandate was extended and that the Kurdish inhabitants of the area received adequate protection. Turkey refused to accept this award. It was on this occasion that Russo-Turkish Pact of Friendship was signed. The British did not want to drive Turkey into the arms of Russia, and, therefore, Mr. Baldwin invited the Turkish Ambassador and dispelled some of the fears in the minds of the Turks, who were persuaded to enter once again into direct negotiations. The real negotiations were carried on between Sir Ronald Lindsay, the British Ambassador at Constantinople and Dr. Aras. The Treaty of Angora, dated 6 June, 1926, was the result. Turkey received part of the vilayet where Kurdish population dominated and she was compensated for the loss of Mosul oil, but the city of Mosul which was predominantly Arab was left with Iraq. The real reason of the success of the negotiations was that the emergence of Soviet Russia made it plain to the British that a State for the ill-disciplined and primitive Kurds could be maintained only with the British bayonets or Russian support. British opinion was opposed to further commitments and the government did not want to make a present of a satellite State to the Russians. With the danger of disruption having receded, the Turks were in a more accommodating mood. The Treaty of Angora buried an independent Kurdistan for at least some time and left the Assyrians in permanent exile, but it paved the path towards Anglo-Turkish amity.

Kemal thought that the best method of consolidating Turkey's diplomatic position was to improve her relations with her neighbours. In 1923 Turkey signed treaties of friendship with Austria and Hungary and in 1925 with Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Balkan politics were still unstable, mostly because Bulgaria was dissatisfied with the post-war settlement and the underground organization called the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization created difficulties for Greeks and Yugoslavs and it is not known how far it had Bulgarian support.¹ Greece and Yugoslavia both were afraid of being attacked by Bulgaria. Italy was frantically trying to extend her influence. Fully aware of the fact that a divided Balkan would become a hotbed of foreign intrigue, Turkey adopted a positive policy of creating a better atmosphere. She was in a good position to do so, because she had, in spite of severe losses in the previous wars, no territorial claims. Besides, no Balkan Power had claims against her. She concluded a new treaty with Bulgaria in 1929. The relations with Greece were still strained, but mutual interests in the Balkans drew them together. M. Venizelos visited Turkey and the result was the Treaty of Peace and Arbitration between Greece and Turkey in 1930. Turkey and Greece soon became great friends and in 1932 Turkey entered the League of Nations with active Greek support. This, on the one hand, proclaimed to the world that Turkey's foreign policy was not dictated by Kremlin, and, on the other hand, brought the Turks nearer the Western democracies. Kemal was not actuated by any hostile feelings towards Russia, but he felt that it was necessary to have compensatory alliance with others so that his country may not become an appanage of a single Power in world affairs. This, however, was not liked by Moscow.

A more important result of Greco-Turkish friendship was the strengthening of the Little Entente which had come into existence in 1921. The rise of Hitler to power and German ambitions in the Balkans made it more probable that security in the Balkans might be threatened. Therefore in February 1934 Turkey, Rumania, Greece and Yugoslavia signed the Pact of Athens which provided for discussion and consultation in all emergencies threatening their security or interests. This pact helped King Boris of Bulgaria to keep down firebrands and conspirators and to improve his relations with Yugoslavia. In July, 1934 Turkey signed a convention with Russia, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia on the lines of the Pact of Athens. Thus Turkey took a leading part in trying to maintain peace in the Balkans even if the Nazis forced a conflagration on the World. Mussolini, in his search for allies in the Balkans tried to court the favour of Turkey. In 1928 he gave assurance to Turkey that Italy had no territorial claims on her. Turkey was only too glad to receive such assurance from the probable disturber of peace in the Mediterranean and the Balkans, and therefore, in 1928, the Turkish Foreign Minister visited Milan and concluded a treaty of neutrality and conciliation. Mussolini gave his moral support to a Greco-Turkish rapprochement and it was through his good offices that the reconciliation did take place. On 18 March, 1934, however, he made the following statement before the second Fascist quinquennial Congress :

There must be no misunderstanding upon this centuries-old task which I assign to this and the future generations of Italy. There is no question of territorial conquest.... The matter is one of natural expansion which will lead to a close co-operation between Italy and the nations of the Near and Middle East.

This caused anxiety in Turkey where Italy's claims on portions of Anatolia had not been forgotten. Mussolini informed the Turkish Ambassador at Rome that his remarks did not refer to Turkey, which he regarded as a European State. Turkish suspicions were not allayed, and when Italy pounced upon Abyssinia, the Turks began to wonder if they could rely on Italian assurances.

The rise of Hitler and the Abyssinian War made it obvious that the world was perilously near another war. So long as international co-operation continued, the Turks were satisfied with the Straits Convention of Lausanne, but when Germany and Japan left the League and Italy attacked Abyssinia, a member of the League, with impunity, the Turks realized that they could not depend on the terms of the convention for security. Turkey, therefore, received sympathetic replies from the signatories of the convention when she informed them that she wanted to negotiate a fresh agreement and stated her reasons for demanding a greater measure of security. A conference was called at Montreal where a new convention was signed on 20 July, 1936 by Great Britain, France, Russia, Japan, Turkey, Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia. Italy was the only exception because she was annoyed with Turkey for having participated in the Sanctions. It restored to Turkey the right of fortifying the Straits. Elaborate rules were made regarding the passage of ships.

Before discussing Turkey's foreign policy in Europe any further, it would be useful to examine her attitude towards her Asiatic neighbours. Two main considerations governed Ottoman foreign policy in the East since the days of Sultan Abdul Hamid. The constant intrigues of European Powers with the Christian minorities of his Empire had forced upon the Sultan the idea of retaliating against those Powers by exploiting his position as the Caliph. His propaganda caused some embarrassment to Great Britain, France and Russia, and Turkey gained great sympathy among the Muslims of the world. Turkey, however, was too beset with difficulties and she had too little resources to cause any real damage. The Muslim peoples under the sway of the European Powers were too powerless to have an effective voice or to create any difficulties. They could only agitate as the Indian Muslims did after the end of the War. The Imperial Powers of Europe were, on the other hand, strong and knew the technique of propaganda to perfection. They were capable of weaning even the non-Turkish Muslim subjects of the Sultan from their allegiance to the Caliph-Sultan. The Turks ought to have realized how Arab Chieftains, for personal gain, were inclined to ally themselves with the non-Muslim Britain rather than the Muslim Turk. The war exploded the practical potentialities of Pan-Islamism. The Turk found ranged against himself the Arab, the Kurd, the Indian Muslim and the Tartar. This left a legacy of bitterness which was cleverly exploited by irreligious elements in Turkey. From the very begin-

ning of Europeanization and dissatisfaction with the condition of Turkey, anti-religious elements had come into existence, but they were kept under control. With the disappearance of the Sultan's office and the failure of the Pan-Islamicists under Enver to wrest power from Kemal owing to the intervention of Russia, such elements became stronger. Kemal was loyally helped by the saner elements in spite of his views on religion because a split at this juncture would have meant the end of Turkey. The victory of the nationalist forces was the triumph of Kemal who stood for complete secularization and Westernization. Early in 1924 a letter from H.H. the Aga Khan and Sayyid Amir Ali was published in a Turkish newspaper, criticising the separation of the Caliphate from the Sultanate. The time chosen for publication was singularly inopportune, because pamphlets in support of a constitutional monarchy had recently appeared in Turkey. The Turks were led to believe by those in authority that all this was the result of a British intrigue against the Republican regime. This led to the embitterment of Turkish sentiment against Indian Muslims, who, if only the Turks had been a little better informed, were themselves acutely anti-British at this time owing to the Khilafat movement. Curiously just at that time there was a Turkish Red Cross delegation in India collecting funds for the rehabilitation of Smyrna. They were using the fact of the Caliphate being vested in the Ottoman monarchs as their main justification for the appeal. They were still in India when the National Assembly on 2 March, 1924, abolished the Caliphate. The delegation asked for confirmation of the news, and Kemal in his message tried to soften the shock for Indian Muslims by expressing the opinion that the strength of Islam would lie in the growth and development of strong Muslim independent units. The Turks rendered a great service to European Empires by abolishing an institution which might have succeeded in embarrassing them; to the British this decision was particularly welcome because the Indian Muslim agitation came to an end and their patronage could now be welcome to the Arabs without any qualms of conscience. Turkey was, however, indifferent because she had launched a policy of extreme Europeanization which caused resentment and revolts. The State succeeded in suppressing them but not without harshness and bloodshed.

Mustafa Kemal put an end to another movement. The Turks had also played with the idea of a Pan-Turanian movement. Russia had posed as the patron of all Slavs and had succeeded in creating difficulties for Turkey in the Balkans. Russia had enslaved practically all the Turanian Muslims outside Turkey. The Pan-Turanian movement made some headway but it was never strong enough to cause any real embarrassment to Russia. Enver took up the leadership of the Bukhara Turks but he was killed in action. Russia, by preventing Enver from crossing the border into Turkey, killed Turkish Pan-Islamism; by defeating and killing him in Bukhara she killed Pan-Turanianism. Seldom has a Power succeeded so completely.

The Turks had, however, forgotten that both Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turanianism were the outcome of the fear of European imperialism and that European imperialism was by no means dead. In the early twenties, Turkey,

Iran and Afghanistan were alike afraid of Great Britain. Turkey had to contend against Lloyd George's policy who had compared them to a human cancer and had expressed glee that 'they were brought to account'; Iran had been under virtual occupation throughout the war and Great Britain was not too willing to evacuate; Afghanistan had just fought a war of liberation. Russia used this sentiment to establish friendly relations with those countries and induced them to come together. Early in 1921, friendly relations were established between these countries. A frontier dispute caused some estrangement between Iran and Turkey but friendly relations were restored by the Treaty of 1926. In 1928 the relations were strengthened by a commercial treaty and the reopening of the Tabriz-Trebizond Road. In 1932 an agreement was reached regarding the frontiers. Amanullah's admiration of the new Turkey was so exaggerated that in more conservative Afghanistan the reaction sent him into exile. The emergence of Iraq as an independent and progressive country and the weakening of British control led to the appreciation of common interests. Ultimately these countries were led to sign the famous Sadaabad Pact on 8 July, 1937, this time with the blessings of Great Britain, rather than Russia.

The history of the recovery of British influence in all these countries cannot be conveniently narrated here, but it is necessary to give an account of the developments which culminated in the Anglo-Turkish Alliance. It has already been pointed out that the policy of aggression and expansion adopted by Italy and the rise of Hitler to power made Turkey nervous about the security of the Mediterranean and the Balkans. Besides, she did not want to become a mere satellite of Russia, too much dependence on whom would affect her position adversely. The British, through a series of able officers, tried to cultivate better relations with Turkey and rendered her help at Montreux. The visits of the Earl of Athlone and Princess Alice to Angora and of King Edward VIII to Istanbul where he met Kemal Ataturk greatly pleased the Turks. In return, Turkey gave loyal support at Nyon (1937) in British efforts to prevent piratical attacks on international shipping by 'Spanish' submarines, which were really Italian. On 27 May, 1938 three credit agreements were signed between Great Britain and Turkey. These were mainly intended to enable Turkey to buy war material and other goods from Great Britain and to make her a little less dependent for her economic life on Germany. Naturally Turkey was sharply criticized in Germany for this action. Turkey was particularly pleased because Great Britain demanded no political concessions in return.

Kemal Ataturk died on 10 November, 1938 and on the following day General Ismet İnönü was unanimously elected as the President. There was no change in the foreign policy of the Republic except in one direction. İnönü is inclined to cultivate better relations with the Arabs and the bitterness between Turkey and Arabs is decreasing.

III

To continue the story of Turkish-British relations, Turkey felt a little eased in mind when Italy signed the Montreux convention in return for Turkey's *de facto* recognition of the annexation of Ethiopia. The Anglo-Italian Agreement of April, 1938 raised more hopes regarding the security of the Mediter-

anean. Hitler, then, seized Bohemia and Turks once again began to wonder how long European peace would last. This was followed by Italian seizure of Albania. The Italians invaded that small country without provocation on Good Friday, 7 April, 1939 and had little difficulty in establishing themselves there. The Adriatic became an Italian lake and Mussolini was able to exercise direct pressure on the Balkan States. Great Britain and France gave unilateral guarantee of the independence and integrity of Greece which seemed to be directly threatened. The British Government initiated a series of conversations at Angora for negotiating a defensive treaty with Turkey. As an Anglo-French Treaty with the Soviet Union was under discussion, Russia, when consulted about the proposed Anglo-Turkish Treaty in accordance with the Treaty of Friendship, gave the conversations her blessings. On 12 May, Mr. Chamberlain was able to announce in the House of Commons that Great Britain and Turkey declared that in the event of an act of aggression in the Mediterranean they would co-operate effectively and render each other all assistance in their power. The two governments also considered it necessary to maintain the security of the Balkans and were in consultation regarding the achievement of this purpose.

For complete co-operation between the Western democracies and Turkey it was necessary that Franco-Turkish relations should be on a sound basis. The treaty of Lausanne had assigned the Sanjak (district) of Alexandretta (called Hatay by the Turks) to Syria under the French mandate. Turkey claimed this Sanjak because it had a solid Turkish population of about 40% forming the largest single community. They were guaranteed cultural liberty. When the French negotiated a treaty with Syria proposing to recognize her independence, Turkey grew restive and demanded the restoration of Hatay. In the end France agreed to hand over Hatay in full sovereignty to Turkey though the legality of this action was questioned by the Syrians who contended that France being a mere mandatory Power could not cede Syrian territory to a third Power. Turkey occupied the district and Franco-Turkish relations became friendly. On June 23 the two governments made an announcement regarding their determination to co-operate in suppressing aggression in the Mediterranean and their anxiety to maintain peace in the Balkans.

There seemed to be no hitch now in the negotiations of a treaty of friendship and co-operation between the Western democracies and Turkey who had, through her ambassador, proposed an alliance as early as 1936, but at that time Great Britain and France were following the policy of appeasement. With the Nazi threat to Poland, British and French staff officers visited Turkey and there was no doubt regarding her sympathies. Difficulties, however, rose from an unexpected quarter. The Turks had noticed the deep friendship between the German Ambassador Von Papen and M. Terentieff, the Russian Ambassador. Suddenly the Russo-German Pact of Neutrality and Non-Aggression was announced. The Germans marched into Poland. Turkey was bewildered and felt that she had been betrayed by Russia, particularly because even then the two Powers were discussing a Pact of Non-Aggression to stabilize the balance in the Black Sea. The Turkish foreign minister, M. Sara-

joglu went to Moscow to conclude the pact. There he was treated with little courtesy and was kept waiting for days. The Russians were in no mood to take him into confidence regarding their intentions. They demanded that Turkey should unilaterally amend the Montreux convention in favour of Russia and prohibit the entry, in all circumstances, of warships hostile to Russia. M. Sarajoglu expressed his inability to violate a freely negotiated international instrument and to violate a policy agreed upon three years back between Turkey and Russia. M. Molotov, on behalf of Russia, agreed to sign a non-aggression pact without the stipulation regarding the Straits and then suddenly refused to do so. The Turks were naturally exasperated, and the entire fabric of their foreign policy seemed to collapse.

It became even more necessary to have friends and, therefore, Turkey signed a Tripartite Treaty of Mutual Assistance with Great Britain and France in case of aggression against any of the high contracting parties, though Turkey's responsibility to help Great Britain and France actively was limited to the act of aggression taking place in the Mediterranean or in case of their being engaged in hostilities in respect of their guarantees, to Greece and Rumania.

IV

The years of war brought anxiety and suspense. Russian intentions were obscure and German propaganda was active. The Turks are less gullible by nature, but Germany did succeed in creating suspicions against Turkey in Russia. Every effort was made to create bad blood between Russia and Turkey. The Germans falsified a letter written by M. Massigli, the French Ambassador in Turkey to M. Daladier in March to show that Turkey had agreed to lend him territory for an Anglo-French attack on Baku. Great Britain and France promptly contradicted the report, M. Massigli published the correct version of the despatch which exonerated Turkey from harbouring any designs against Russia and ultimately Germany published a belated admission that the document had been mistranslated. Russia even then did not seem to be satisfied. The attitude of that country caused consternation in Turkey, though the stolid Turk did not lose his nerve. The havoc caused by earthquakes added to the worries of Turkey. It was significant that her erstwhile friend Russia sent her little help, and Germany none. The Russian radio made frequent attacks on the Turkish government. In spite of her heroic efforts, Turkey did not succeed in persuading the Balkan Powers to evolve a common policy of defence. The Belgrade Conference of the Balkan Entente merely passed resolutions without taking any concrete measures.

When Italy declared war against France, Turkey did not know Russian intentions. Besides, she knew that France had been beaten, the Reynaud government was about to fall and the next government would surrender. Turkey decided to remain non-belligerent. Russia poured her troops into Rumania and it was generally believed in the Balkans that Hitler and Stalin had planned a division of Eastern Europe and that Russia might occupy the Straits. Great Britain understood the reasons which had prompted Turkey to make that decision which had been arrived at in consultation with the

British Government, which realized that it was not possible to spare any forces to help Turkey in case of an attack.

German propaganda remained active and tried to wean Turkey from her alliance with Great Britain, sometimes by threats, sometimes by playing on her fear of Russian designs on the Straits and sometimes promising her portions of Syria and Iraq. But Turkey remained firm. In October 1940 Greece was attacked by Italy. The war reached Turkey's frontiers. The failure of the British to hold Crete made it impossible for Turkey to adopt any but a passive policy. She was ill equipped to face a German onslaught, and, therefore, she could intervene on behalf of her allies neither in the Balkans nor in the Middle East. Having seen the fate of several European countries, Turkey signed a Treaty of Neutrality and Friendship with Germany on 18 June, 1941. The main reason was that owing to the difficulties of Great Britain and the heavy losses to shipping trade with other countries had come to a standstill and Turkey was faced with economic disaster.

Relations between Germany and the Soviet Union were getting strained, and it was now obvious that Russia might be involved in war. The Turkish Government learnt with satisfaction the Russian declaration of 24 March, 1941 that in the case of Turkey being involved in a war to defend her territories, Russia would remain neutral. In June 1941, war was declared between Germany and the Soviet Union, and Hitler revealed in his declaration that Stalin had asked for his consent to annex the Straits. On the occasion of Russia's entry into the war Mr. Churchill spoke of the Russian contribution to victory in the First World War, from the benefits of which Russia had to be excluded. The Nazis pointed out that there had been a secret alliance between Russia and Great Britain regarding the Straits in that War and the Turks could not help feeling that this was a renewal of the promise. On this a unilateral guarantee was given by Great Britain and Russia on 10 August, 1941 in this respect.

On 31 January, 1943, Mr. Churchill paid a visit to the President of the Turkish Republic at Adana. Agreement was reached regarding the manner in which Britain and the U.S.A. could help Turkey to enable her to strengthen her defences. Germany was suspicious of Turkish intentions, but she was assured through Von Papen that Turkey was anxious to maintain her non-belligerency. On 6 December in the same year, President İnönü and the Turkish Foreign Minister, M. Menemenjoglu, in response to their invitation, flew to Cairo to confer with President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill. There was great speculation in the press, but M. Menemenjoglu told the press on 8 December that the Turkish policy remained unchanged. The truth seems to have been that Turkey was urged either to declare war or at least to give the Allies the use of her bases to be used against the Nazis. Russia had demanded Turkish participation in war in October 1943 on the occasion of the conference at Moscow between Messrs. Eden, Hull and M. Molotov. Turkey did not consider herself secure enough to enter the war. As late as February 1944 Mr. Churchill had told the House of Commons that it was no part of British policy to get Turkey into trouble; but now Allied pressure began to

increase. On 24 May, 1944 Mr. Churchill referred to the disappointment caused by an exaggerated attitude of caution on the side of Turkey. He was, however, glad to note that Turkey had stopped supplies of chrome to the Germans.

A crisis developed in June 1944 when Turkey allowed German ships to pass from the Black Sea into the Aegean. The British Government protested. M. Menemenjoglu resigned and Premier Sarajoglu took up his portfolio. He assured the Allies of an inquiry into the matter. Some of the vessels were held up and others were refused passage. The crisis passed off and the Allies were reassured. Turkey realized that she must make up her mind; she could also see that the tide had turned and that the Nazis were on the defensive. She felt strong enough on 12 August, 1944 to cut off her diplomatic relations with the Nazis in spite of the entreaties and threats of Von Papen. As soon as the Yalta Conference came to an end, Turkey was asked to declare war on Germany which she did on 23 February, 1945.

With the end of the war the question of Turko-Russian relations again came to the forefront. Russia emerged not only as one of the three greatest Powers but was also highly suspicious of the intentions of her former allies and anxious, as she puts it, to maintain security around her borders. Whatsoever be the reasons, Russia is trying to expand her influence in all directions. Turkey, apprehensive of Russian intentions, has always tried to maintain good relations with her. For instance, on 18 September, 1944, twenty-three Turks were tried before the Istanbul court of Martial Law for spreading Pan-Turanian ideas. At the head of the organization was Zaki Valid Togan, professor of Turkish History at the University of Istanbul. As majority of the Turkish peoples live in the Soviet Union, this was a gesture to propitiate Russia. The Soviet Union, however, in its desire for expansion is now demanding bases in the Straits and the Eastern districts of Kars and Ardahan. These rumours had been persistent ever since. Russia refused to extend the Russo-Turkish Treaty of Friendship in March 1945; they found confirmation in a London report dated 15 September, 1945 that the Turkish Government had communicated to the Foreign Ministers' meeting in London that she was determined not to concede such a demand.

The future is uncertain. Russia is taking a strong interest in the Mediterranean. Her participation in the settlement of the question of Tangier, her demand that Libya should be put under her trusteeship, her desire to acquire the Dodecanese, and to extend her influence in the Middle East and her long-ing glances at Eritrea are all pointers in the same direction.

Russia is not only a great Power with infinitely superior resources in fighting material and manpower, she has other weapons in her armoury which may disrupt Turkish unity. There is already a growing communist party in Turkey which is at present a negligible factor, but which, as the result of industrialization and secularization of the country, may grow into a formidable factor. There is also the Kurdish population, which has been suppressed, but which has not been completely Turcicized nor assimilated. Turkey stoutly maintains now that there are no Kurds in Turkey at all, that they have all been civilized, that is to say, Turcicized. They have even been given the name of 'Mountain

Turks'. Even now it is estimated that Turkey has the largest Kurdish population, numbering 1,500,000. The Kurdish independent movement (called Khoybun) has a committee in Syria and has secret agencies in all Kurdish areas. The Russians have a small population of Kurds numbering about 20,000. With their political technique of cultural autonomy, the Russians have encouraged the development of the Kurdish language and culture. A Kurdish college has been opened and the Kurds have become strongly culture-conscious. This has not gone unnoticed in other sections of the Kurdish population and the Khoybun Committee openly looks to Russia for the solution of the Kurdish problem. Long before Russia demanded Kars and Ardahan, it was whispered in Kurdish homes that Russia had promised the land upto the Lake Van to an enlarged Armenia which would also provide shelter to the Kurds. Thus it would be clear that though the Ottoman Empire is dead and buried, the Near Eastern question is very much alive. Great Britain and Russia are again in the arena. What will be the fate of Turkey if it comes to a duel? And what will be the repercussions on world peace? And, finally, is there any remedy?

It is not the function of History to pry into the future. It is quite clear that there can be no peace either in the Balkans or in the Middle East until the small nationalities group themselves into a strong league or confederation capable of taking action in face of foreign intervention. The Balkans lack any principle of cohesion, unless communism provides one. The Middle East can unite, because even now Islam can provide a sufficiently strong bond, if only there is an intelligent endeavour to bring about unity. The pressure of political force will either bring about this unity or the Middle East will remain the cockpit of contending imperialisms. We are back to the ideas advocated by Saiyid Jamal-ud-din Afghani and Sheikh Abdu' and adopted by Sultan Abdul Hamid, but where a despot failed, the peoples might succeed. The third possibility is absorption in the Soviet Union, but this will arise only if Great Britain and America fail completely in safeguarding their interests. At present, a greater unity among the Muslim peoples seems to be the more probable solution, and Turkey is not entirely indifferent to such a development.

AMERICA AND WORLD PEACE

By GEORGE CATLIN

THE present United Nations Organization (UNO), for the success of which we all pray, differs from the old Geneva League in its essential structure and (I use the word advisedly) in its ideology. The ideology of the Geneva League was Wilsonian, Liberal. It was inspired by the idea that if reasonable men got together to discuss they could both contract themselves into new States by self-determination and they would arrive at solutions satisfactory to all in international relations. The UNO has had a very different basis, in which quite a sharp distinction is drawn between Assembly

and Security Council, which is not so much a Senate as an Executive and with-in this Council between the Veto-holding and the Non-Veto-holding Powers. The constitution is like the old and not very happy one of Eighteenth Century Poland where the pace was set by that of the most obstructive. There is a pious hope that there will be a Concert of the Veto-holders. In the alternative, there can be relapse overnight into what Lowes Dickinson called the International Anarchy.

This structure is not Liberal but what is today called 'realistic'. It rests not on the individualistic rights of Man but upon considerations of power. It is of peculiar interest to any one who like myself has consistently urged that the ultimate analysis of politics, as I said in my *Science & Method*, is in power terms rather than in economic terms and can be most hopefully approached by an analysis of the distinction between that co-operative technique which modern psychologists and, I should add, Mr. Gandhi have emphasized and on the other hand the traditional technique of domination.

If we accept that in UNO we have a power structure, we can carry a realistic investigation still further. The five Veto-holding Powers are not themselves equal. China is, if she can remain united, obviously with India one of the greatest Powers of the future, and perhaps the greatest. But this is not, in any realistic sense, the present position. Similarly France can scarcely hope, on grounds of relative population alone, to renew her political and military prestige of the days of Richelieu and Louis XIVth and Napoleon. There remain for the moment in the international power circus 'three little nigger boys', the USSR, the USA and the UK with the Commonwealth.

According to the statements of such conservative speakers as Mr. Winston Churchill and Field Marshal Smuts, the British Commonwealth is not as strong in mass man-power, apart from India, or in the treasure of raw materials, amounting to self-sufficiency, as the other two. Here India still holds in some measure the balance of power. There is still a traditional British interest in preventing any one country dominating the world, in supporting movements of national independence which conduce to this end, and in backing the interest of the 'Rim-States' of the world which rely upon naval power against any land power which seeks to add on naval power as well and thereby assure for itself an autocratic and invincible domination.

History from the days, let us say, of Elizabeth and Philip of Spain has not confirmed the view that victory always goes to mere superiority of mass numbers. Nevertheless man-power along with geography and organization remain the three great determinants of politics. And in terms of this we are left with the USA and the USSR as the two preponderant Powers. Their foreign policy, and even their domestic policy so far as its ideas are designed for export, must necessarily be determinant for the peace and security of the world. What this policy will be hence becomes of high importance to mankind.

There are those who hold that the most satisfactory thing for the peace of the world would be a Communist world domination which would obviously be Krèmlin-directed. I have no rooted objec-

tion to economic communism which must be judged pragmatically, but I can see grave objection to the general establishment of a police State or the reduction of policy to Kremlin control. India will, I think, wish to have a free polity and a foreign policy of her own. There are also those who visualize Western Europe pursuing a policy of Balance of Power, a policy of which I have never been able to see the force or prospect of success. Again there are others, more intelligent who feel that, in the event of the two preponderant Powers falling out, the proper course would be to follow a policy of endeavouring to remain neutral. Even if this were not ultimately practicable, neutrality for six months might be of decisive importance.

What stands out clearly is that, did the USA and USSR come together in e.g. a military alliance, no power on earth would be able to resist them and peace within all range of practical politics would in fact be preserved. On the supposition that this alliance were not a mere manoeuvre for position, alienating the allies of the one side or the other, or a scheme for the partition of the world at the expense of all others, I can see much in its favour. Many Americans, such as Prof. Harold Lasswell in his recent book *World Politics Faces Economics* advocate it.

One of the difficulties of an equal Partnership, apart from the advantages of Russia's huge land-mass upon which Sir Halford Mackinder commented so ably in his *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, is the difficulty which any democracy experiences in relation to a dictatorship of any kind of pursuing continuity of foreign policy and of maintaining adequate armies after the declaration of an armistice. In this respect the United States is no exception to the general rule. This is sometimes described as an Isolationist policy, the invalidity of which has been demonstrated by two wars. It would, however, be more adequate to describe it as an emotional reaction than as a policy, and it is only to be understood as such. Already General Eisenhower and Mr. Sumner Welles have uttered grave warnings against this emotional policy which is in effect a lack of policy. The American common man may wish to revert to the security of isolation of the Pre-air age; but this security is now illusory and isolation is utterly impossible for one of the two greatest world Powers. As well could the elephant hide itself.

The United States suffers further, not only from those differences of view and interest which are inevitable where men are not dragooned by a tyranny, but also by racial differences which weaken the social structure; by differences between incompletely assimilated immigrant groups; by jealousies in South America directed against the great North American power; and, alas! by jealousies in certain quarters between the two great halves of the Anglo-Saxon world, jealousies that could easily prove fatal.

It may well be that the only balance that could prove equal and satisfactory would be one between the whole West, organized as one unit, along with the Commonwealth relations and those based on naval interests. The United Nations Charter specifically provides in Chapter VIII for Regional Arrangements.

Far more satisfactory, of course, than any regional arrangement is that

world arrangement which involves the satisfactory working of UNO. Nor should even those who are political pessimists about the avoidance of future world wars ignore the cardinal importance as a matter of international law of this UNO power-system for ending power-systems. With one reservation it does set up a system under which the aggressor against the rule of law can be determined, although I would add that the co-ordination between the Security Council and the World Court (in order that the latter may impartially determine the meaning of disputed terms, such as e.g. the very word 'dispute') seems to me very imperfect. This reservation that I have to make is of course that unnecessary concession to international anarchy, the Veto. Both Mr. T.V. Soong and Mr. Ernest Bevin have made speeches which look to its desuetude; but on this issue the most interesting pronouncement was that of Mr. Byrnes. At the meeting in London this year of the Council he enunciated the doctrine that the majority had a moral right to proceed to action by common agreement among themselves even over a veto. To put it another way, the veto having invalidated compulsory machinery and returned the nations to their original anarchic freedom, they are free to take common action among themselves, and the action of the majority has validity both moral and probably physical for the enforcement of law against an aggressor.

If the remaining nations are prepared to follow this American lead we may get an organization built that can proceed effectively and with the full moral prestige of international action against an aggressor. It is a most significant departure from the earlier static view of Senators Vandenberg and Connally, which is also the Russian view under which co-operation can be defined as agreement with the Power that bargains hardest. The last twenty years has taught us the extreme evil of a policy of appeasement of any aggressor; and that the wise route is that of instant executive action to uphold law. Regional agreements may or may not be required by American policy or again such schemes as the Unity of Europe. My personal view is that they are required. Nevertheless they sink into unimportance compared with the vital need to reinforce the Byrnes-Bevin-Soong lead for establishing a working organization for the maintenance of law and for the instant and decisive enforcement of peace, which may command the assent both of American idealism and of American practical interests.

THE TASK BEFORE THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

By A. APPADORAI

THE summoning of the Constituent Assembly at New Delhi in October 1946 is an epoch-making event in the history of India: the Constitution it makes will determine the contours of the lives of 400 million people for generations to come. The wider the appreciation and informed discussion of the questions it is called upon to tackle, the greater the chances for the success of its

work. It is proposed here to focus attention on some of the central issues which must come up for discussion before the *Union Constituent Assembly*.

IS THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY SOVEREIGN ?

It is useful to ask at the outset if the Assembly is really free to make a Constitution of its choice—in the jurist's language, is it sovereign? At the moment Constituent Assemblies are at work in France, Italy and Czechoslovakia; they are in every sense free, not being bound by any conditions, to frame Constitutions in accordance with their ideas of what is good for their respective countries; may we say the same of India? The answer is, yes, subject to the basic proposals* outlined by the Cabinet Delegation on 16 May.

- (1) There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with Foreign Affairs, Defence, and Communications; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the purpose.
- (2) The Union should have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British India and State representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.
- (3) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces.
- (4) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.
- (5) Provinces should be free to form Groups with Executives and Legislatures, and each Group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common.
- (6) The constitutions of the Union and of the Groups should contain a provision whereby any Province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the Constitution after an initial period of 10 years and at 10 yearly intervals thereafter.

A departure from these recommendations can be made only if the majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities are in favour of the change. Sir Stafford Cripps stated the reason for this limitation at a Press Conference on 16 May:

As we believe and hope that the two parties will come into this Constitution—making on the basis of our recommendations, it would not be fair to either of them if the fundamental basis which we recommend could be easily departed from.

A similar rule applies also to any matter raising a major communal issue; the question whether the resolutions before the Assembly raise a major commu-

*This reminds the student of Plato's stipulation in his *REPUBLIC* that his State should be free except for four basic features viz., that it should be small, not having more than a fixed number of citizens; that it should have a prescribed system of education; that it should work on a communistic basis so far as the guardians were concerned; and that it should not disturb the principle of specific function on which its class divisions were based. The otherwise absolute philosopher-kings were not free to change these features, though no one could take them to task if they did modify them.

nal issue is to be decided by the Chairman of the Assembly after consulting the Federal Court if requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities.

It may, therefore, be argued that (i) in respect of certain stipulated matters, viz., the six points noted above and questions which have been decided by the President as those which raise major communal issues, a majority of the representatives of the Hindu community *and* of those of the Muslim community in the Assembly acting together is sovereign; and (ii) in other matters, the Assembly is sovereign in the normal sense, a bare majority being capable of arriving at decisions.* The limitation on its sovereignty implied in (i), however, needs a more detailed examination. Few, for instance, will (or should) decry the condition that India should be one Federal Union with its own Executive and Legislature and inherent powers of taxation (as distinguished from a Confederation), or that the residuary power should be with the Units, or that the states which join the Union should retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union, or that a reconsideration of the terms of the Constitution could be called for at ten yearly intervals. In the Indian context, these must be taken as the starting-point for Constitution-making.

The really serious difficulty will arise in two respects.

(i) The requirement of a double majority for decisions on major communal issues though inevitable in the circumstances is certain to give rise to endless recriminations, and, unless extraordinary mutual goodwill is forthcoming, the work of the Assembly may be held up for months. For what are matters raising major communal issues? One can understand resolutions on the religions and social codes of communities as raising such issues, but these are all subjects reserved to the Provinces. Indeed *prima facie* the subjects allowed to the Union seem hardly capable of raising communal issues, but questions concerning the Electorate, the Legislature, the Executive, the Army and the Judiciary may all be considered from the communal angle, and if claims are made by one community to which the other is not agreeable, one wonders how decisions on vital questions can be arrived at. Perhaps arbitration, agreed to by both the communities, may then suggest itself as a method of solving such deadlocks, though it must be admitted that agreement between the communities themselves by compromise is much better if it were possible. In any event, the sovereignty of the Assembly, in cases where a concurrent majority is unattainable, seems to be elusive.

(ii) The enumeration of the Union subjects and sources of revenue in such a manner as to give the Union sufficient strength is, as indicated below, of the utmost importance, and since it may be held to affect proposal (1) of the Cabinet Delegation, a concurrent majority may be claimed necessary for a valid decision: here again, where agreement cannot be arrived at, the elusive character of the Assembly's sovereignty is clear.

*It need not be added that technically the necessity for the British Parliament's formal approval of the new Constitution is a limitation on the sovereignty of the Assembly, but that is not of any practical significance.

PRELIMINARIES

One of the first duties of the Assembly, the Cabinet Delegation state, is to decide the order of business, elect a Chairman and other officers and set up an Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities and tribal and excluded areas; the Provincial representatives will then divide up into the three sections indicated in their statement for the purpose of settling the Provincial Constitutions and Group Constitutions if any,* and then they are to reassemble for the purpose of settling the Union Constitution.

The Assembly, luckily, is not bound by the order of business indicated in the above para: it is open to it by a simple majority to take up the Union Constitution (or some aspects of it) before the representatives divide up into three Groups. It seems to us essential that the Assembly must first elaborate proposals (i) of the Delegation, i.e., draw up the list of Union subjects and the sources of revenue for the Union Government *before* the Sections meet to consider Provincial and Group constitutions, if any—for, unless the Union Constitution is taken up before the Provincial and Group constitutions the fact of those Constitutions having been completed will prevent a fair consideration of the needs of the Centre; besides, as there are three Groups and eleven Provinces the necessary uniformity in respect of the determination of the Union subjects and sources of revenue is not likely to be maintained.

That the Assembly will set up a number of committees for the careful examination of the issues that come before it can be taken for granted, for in a large Assembly such examination is difficult; the Chairman of the committees may take the lead in presenting the resolutions before the Assembly, as is the practice, for instance, in the American Congress.

Preliminary business apart, the Union Constituent Assembly has to concern itself with (A) the Division of Powers, (B) the Union Legislature, Executive and Judiciary, (C) fundamental rights to be embodied in the Union Constitution, (D) the terms of the treaty between itself and the United Kingdom and (E) India's status—where India would prefer to be a Dominion or an independent State (not necessarily in the order indicated here).

THE DIVISION OF POWERS

Basic Proposal (1) of the Delegation is that the Union of India should deal with foreign affairs, defence and communications and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required therefor.

The Assembly has to elaborate this in terms suitable to a constitutional document (it may be mentioned that these three subjects in their most restricted interpretation have been elaborated into some 20 heads in the Seventh Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935, viz., 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 18, 20,

*It is possible that, having regard to the known views of the Congress, as soon as the Constituent Assembly meets, the question of grouping might be raised and a decision urged. We suggest however that the proper stage for considering whether a Province has the right to refuse to join a Group is, as Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri has very lucidly pointed out in the *Hindu*, 1 July, 1946, at the meeting of each section: To the question 'Shall we have a Group Constitution or not?' each Province can answer voting as a Province.

21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 40, 41, 42, 43, 59). Partly, of course, that is the function of the expert legal draftsman; but there are political and economic issues which the Assembly has to discuss and decide before the draftsman can begin his work. It is an accepted maxim in Politics that power and responsibility must go together: if the Union of India is responsible for foreign affairs, defence and communications, it must be vested with the necessary powers and functions which will enable it adequately to fulfil this responsibility.

Foreign Affairs

What does the term 'foreign affairs' involve? Foreign affairs in modern times is inextricably linked with tariffs, trade, commercial treaties and monetary arrangements: the Foreign Ministers of modern States have to concern themselves with innumerable economic issues which have important political repercussions: a tariff discrimination may lead to misunderstandings with other States; the question of a loan agreement such as the recent one between Britain and the U.S.A. cannot be decided on economic considerations alone, its utility in cementing the political ties between Britain and the U.S.A. so necessary in the unsettled nature of the existing international relations has to be taken into account. Is Indonesia's offer of rice to India in distress to be classified under 'foreign affairs' or 'food'? Again is India to be represented at international monetary, food and commercial conferences and institutions (The International Bank, the World Food Council, the International Labour Conference and the like) as one unit or as three units? If as one unit will the Union Government have adequate power to implement the decisions made, money, food and trade being Group or Provincial subjects?—item 3 of the Seventh Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935, rightly includes the implementing of treaties and agreements with other countries under 'External Affairs'. If on the other hand the three Groups are to be represented at such conferences and institutions in their own right, the question arises whether they will have an international status, and even if they are recognized as having such status, innumerable difficulties are bound to result on account of the repercussion of economic affairs on political, international relations—which are the responsibility of the Union Government, and a divorce of power and responsibility will be the inevitable result. Again foreign affairs is closely linked up with emigration and immigration; the submission of the question of the treatment of Indian nationals in South Africa on 23 June, 1946 to the United Nations is a clear instance.

The only satisfactory solution of these difficulties is to list Foreign Trade, Foreign exchange and Emigration and Immigration among the Union subjects, this being essential to enable the Union to discharge its responsibilities in respect of foreign Affairs. Interpretation may, however, differ as to whether these three *are implied* in the existing list or form *additions* to it. If the latter view prevails, it will be necessary to get a concurrent majority in the Assembly for their inclusion in the Union list. The acceptance of this view has the added advantage that it will enable the Union to have that source of revenue which alone can be adequate for its needs, viz., customs. If a concurrent

majority cannot be obtained for this view, the second best course is to declare them as concurrent subjects on which the Union and the Groups could pass laws, it being provided that in the event of conflict the Union law will override the Group law. A concurrent majority for this modest proposal, if necessary, ought not to be difficult considering the enormous complications in the handling of foreign affairs that are otherwise bound to arise.

Defence

Modern defence depends for its effectiveness not only on the army, navy, air force and communications but on a number of economic activities and controls both in peace and war—land acquisition, diversion of capital and labour to war industries, control of food, production, etc.—which must impinge on the sphere reserved to the Groups and Provinces. Total war and the effective mobilization of resources for that purpose demand that (a) provision be made in the Constitution to the effect that when a Central law or an executive arrangement is essential for defence (and foreign affairs and communications) the law or the arrangement must, subject to judicial interpretation, prevail over a Group (or Provincial) law or executive arrangement, and (b) the Union Government be vested with the power to make laws for any part of India in the event of a grave emergency arising whereby the security of India is threatened by war (on the analogy of Section 102 (i) of the Government of India Act, 1935).

It should also be made clear that the Union Centre will have exclusive jurisdiction over the army, navy and air force (and foreign affairs); there can thus be no concurrent power of raising armies vested with the Units.) The provision on the subject in the U.S.A. Constitution may be cited: No State 'can keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay'.

Communications

'Communications' would naturally include (i) Railways, (ii) Maritime shipping and navigation, and admiralty jurisdiction, (iii) Major ports and the constitution of Port Authorities, (iv) Aircraft and air navigation and the provision of aerodromes, (v) Lighthouses and other provisions for the safety of shipping and aircrafts, (vi) Posts and Telegraphs, including telephones, wireless, broadcasting and other forms of communication and (vii) Roads. To what extent 'Roads' should be a Union subject is a matter for careful consideration: their maintenance and extension are obviously related to the problem of adequate defence, but if these are guaranteed, there is no reason why the Groups or Provinces cannot have control over them.

Sources of Revenue

The specification that the Union should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for its subjects is a welcome feature of the Cabinet Delegation's proposals: dependence on the Groups or Provinces for its finances

would cripple the Union and make it ineffective. It would seem logically to follow that the Assembly is bound to allocate to the Union taxable sources adequate for its revenue. In Federations normally customs, and income and corporation taxes are the sources for the revenue of the Centre. The total yield of income and corporation taxes in 1945-46 was Rs 189 crores; in 1939-40 Rs 16.57 crores. The place of income and corporation taxes in the post-war budget cannot yet be gauged with precision but probably they would not be adequate for Union needs, even if on other grounds they were considered suitable as Union sources. It would be best, having regard to the considerations indicated elsewhere, that Foreign trade and, consequently, customs be made Union subjects: this would not only clarify the position in respect of Foreign affairs but provide the only adequate source of revenue for the Union. The earlier effort is made to secure an agreement between the parties on this all-important subject, the better for a satisfactory solution of this difficult question.

That the Union should have the right to have all the information, statistical and otherwise, that it needs from the Groups and Provinces for enabling it to discharge its functions adequately and for this purpose carry out inquiries and surveys if necessary is implicit in the very nature of administration.

It must be stressed that we have not advocated the conferment of any powers on the Union in respect of economic planning and development, the provision of unemployment insurance, the protection of labour and the like—which make the modern State a social service, as distinguished from a police, State; they will all be within the jurisdiction of the Groups and the provinces. Political expediency—i.e., the necessity for meeting the demand for a limitation of the Centre if Pakistan is not to be insisted upon—makes it impracticable to suggest that the Assembly should allocate these to the Union: such elaboration as we have suggested is to enable the Union adequately to fulfil the functions allotted to it in the Delegation's statement.

THE LEGISLATURE, EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIARY

Should the Union Legislature be bicameral? What should be its size, composition and functions?

Attempts are likely to be made to canvass the view that the Union Legislature be bicameral in accordance with the practice in most modern States. The arguments from text books will be repeated; a second chamber is a valuable safeguard against the despotism of a single chamber; serves as a check upon hasty and ill-considered legislation, helps to provide adequate representation to the aristocratic and other interests such as Women and Commerce which may be unable to secure adequate representation in the first chamber; makes it possible for people of political and administrative experience and ability (who for reasons of age, expense or health are not likely to try to enter the first chamber through the arduous process of electioneering) to be made available for the service of the State; and specially in federal States a second chamber is indispensable, providing, as it does, an opportunity for giving representation to the component units of the federation, the first House being

constituted on a population basis. We suggest that the Assembly refuse to accept these rather old-fashioned arguments. Despotism of any kind has to be tackled by the development of a number of free institutions, an analysis of which is beyond the scope of this article; in any case, as J.S. Mill rightly said, the check which a second chamber can apply to a democracy otherwise unchecked is not of much value, because few will then be disposed to listen to its opinion; laws in modern times are enacted after a long process of discussion and analysis; a democratically chosen Legislature will have representatives of all those interests that deserve representation; abilities of a special kind may be made available to the service of the State not necessarily through a legislative body but in innumerable other ways, through committees, for instance; experience shows that members of the second chamber in federations often vote on party, not on State, lines. Above all in India with a Centre so restricted as the Union one, there is no need for two Houses; a single elected Assembly will meet the needs of the case.

The Assembly, we suggest, may consist of some 385 members, one to every million of the population. That provides a reasonable number, neither too large to make effective deliberation impossible, nor too small to prevent it from being a mirror of public opinion. In the absence of an agreement between the communities on the question of joint electorates, (which is the starting point of healthy political life) the members may be elected in the same manner as the Constituent Assembly, viz., the representatives of each community in a Province may be elected by the members of that community in its Legislative Assembly, the allocation of seats between the main communities in each Province being in proportion to their population.* A period of not less than four years nor more than five may be the tenure of office for members.

The Assembly so constituted will make the final decision in matters of legislation and finance, the initiative being with the Executive. It will be the organ of public opinion on all matters of Union importance. It will watch and control the Government, compelling it to justify all its acts before the Legislature and before the public.

The basic proposals of the Cabinet Delegation provide that any question raising a major communal issue in the Union Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting. It would be politically unwise to attempt to do away with this limitation on the Union Assembly, at any rate for the next ten years, though it should be possible to include in the Constitution an elaboration of the term

* It is arguable that direct election may be preferred because it is a better method of political education. We see no very weighty objection to its adoption except one: Would it be wise to increase the number of popular elections, for in addition to elections to local bodies there are elections to provincial and, possibly, Group Legislatures. If indirect election is adopted for the Group Legislature, if any, it is worth while considering whether direct election may not be adopted for the Union Legislature provided joint electorates are agreed to.

'major communal issue' and a stipulation of the Authority who will decide in each case whether it comes under that category.

The Executive

The central problem in the formation of an Executive is how to combine two features; in order to perform its functions efficiently, an Executive should have fair unity of outlook and stability of tenure; at the same time it should command the confidence of the different elements of the nation. America solves the problem by vesting the executive authority in a President virtually elected by the people for a fixed term; Britain by vesting the authority in a Cabinet consisting of members of Parliament, the unity being supplied by the fact that the Prime Minister chooses his colleagues. Switzerland solves it by having a Board of Ministers elected by the Legislature, who remain in office for a fixed term, carrying out the will of the Legislature and not pressing their opinion to the point of resignation. France never solved the problem adequately, her Cabinets being notoriously divided and unstable.

Assuming that the Assembly declares itself in favour of independence—rejecting dominion status—as seems likely from the past declarations of political leaders, the Governor-General disappears. Two alternatives appear worthy of consideration by the Assembly:—

(i) The head of the State will be a President elected by an electoral college consisting of all members of the Provincial Assemblies, or in the alternative, by a special electoral college elected by the people. He will hold office for say four years. He will be assisted by a Council of Ministers; their appointment will have to be confirmed by a two-thirds majority of the Union Assembly. He may be vested with the power to veto laws which may, however, be over-ridden by a $\frac{2}{3}$ vote of the Assembly. Treaties and a declaration of war and peace must require for their validity the consent of $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Assembly. The great merit of this proposal is that it makes the President, neither too powerful to be a dictator nor reduces him to an automaton; he will symbolize the unity of the nation, and since he will be elected by representatives of *all* communities, the centripetal tendencies may be strengthened. It will supply a healthy unity in administration.

(ii) A President to be elected by the Union Assembly may be the nominal head, acting on the advice of a Council of Ministers, elected by the Assembly by a system of proportional representation; the Council, when formed, would elect its own leader who might be called the prime minister. The ministry should have a fixed tenure of four to five years which should also be the tenure of the Legislature. A composite Cabinet like this is essentially weak on account of divided counsels within the government. It provides opportunities for continuous irritation and disagreement. It makes the Opposition weak. It may lead to an undesirable increase in the number of groups in the Legislature, for if every party is to have statutory representation in the Executive it is an inducement for the formation of new parties. Its merit is that it gives minorities greater confidence in the majority. And if a fixed

tenure is also stipulated, this will conduce to that stability of administration which is so desirable in the interests of efficiency.

The Judiciary

The Cabinet Delegation in their statement do not mention the Judiciary at all. But surely, the Assembly cannot ignore so vital a point. A Federal Union, with a three-decker constitution, by its nature implies the existence of an independent Court, (Judges holding office till the age of retirement) to interpret the Constitution. It is unnecessary to go into details here. The members of the Court will be appointed by the President to hold office till they attain the 65th year; their salaries should not be reducible, nor should the judges be dismissible by the Executive. The Court should be the highest Court of appeal on all points involving the interpretation of the Constitution; a section of it would act as the final Court of appeal in all other cases. The Court will be the guardian of the Constitution, protecting (a) the Provinces & States against encroachment by the Groups and the Centre, (b) Groups against encroachment by the Centre and the Provinces, (c) the Centre against encroachment by the Groups, the Provinces and the States, and (d) individuals against encroachment, on the rights given to them in the Constitution, by any authority.

(To be continued)

THE FUTURE OF THE ROYAL INDIAN AIR FORCE

By THE HON'BLE F.-LT. RUP CHAND

THE Indian Air Force, the youngest force in the British Empire, has undoubtedly justified the hopes and foresight of its founders. It has a short, but gallant history. It was only in 1932 that, by virtue of an Act passed by the Central Legislative Assembly, the Indian Air Force became a separate service. The foundations of the new air force may be said to have been laid by a group of young enterprising Indians, Sirkar, Mukerji, Bhupendra Singh, Awan, Amarjit Singh, Tandon and Engineer, who were the first Indian pilots to be trained at Cranwell.

On 1 April, 1933, the I.A.F. came into existence with one flight at Karachi. Starting with six men and a flight of 4 aeroplanes, it has now grown to its present strength of 10 fully equipped operational squadrons, despite handicaps. Men like the late Mazumdar who commanded No. 1 squadron in Burma with great distinction, Runganadhan and others devoted several years to hard intensive training and by their heroic deeds on the N.W. Frontier of India and later in Burma, proved beyond the shadow of doubt that India can produce an air force worthy in every way of her glorious military traditions. The Burma campaign was a veritable landmark in the history and development of the I.A.F.

Equipped with such obsolete machines as Lysander craft and facing heavy odds, the Indian pilots played a very creditable part in the most arduous mission of rearguard action to check the advance of the better-equipped and more powerful Japs. For distinguished service, several Indian Air Force Officers have won distinctions, including the D.S.O. and D.F.C.S.

Indian young men have shown extraordinary aptitude for the air. During the World War No. 1 and 2, Indian Pilots went into the thick of the fight in several theatres of war and never shirked facing danger or assuming responsibility and leadership even under the most trying conditions. They displayed great initiative, quiet heroism and dogged determination; and like young eagles they showed kinship with the air. There is no dearth of young men eager to adopt flying as a career and there is immense material available for the future I.A.F. waiting for suitable opportunities. If only India's military potentialities had been developed earlier, she would have been the arsenal of Democracy today and would not have found herself in the unenviable position from the military point of view as she did when the war commenced in 1939. India started late in the sphere of air power and has much leeway to make up before she can have anything like the air forces of even second rate powers, not to speak of U.S., Russia and Britain. The World War would have been fought in vain if we forget the lessons it taught us. India had only a few machines when the war started and was totally unprepared for aerial warfare. We cannot afford to be caught unawares once again, or let history repeat itself. 'Safety Firsty' should now be our motto.

STRONG AIR FORCE NECESSARY

We are on the threshold of a new era. The I.A.F. must now be India's first line of defence and the spearhead of attack when offensive action has to be taken to meet a challenge. However strong and well equipped land and sea forces a country might possess, she cannot withstand an onslaught by an aggressor in modern times unless she has a strong air force. Infantry and Cavalry are fast becoming out of date. This is really the age of the aeroplane.

It is an irony of fate, but an assertion the truth of which cannot be denied, that in the 20th century, when powerful nations show scant respect to the independence and sovereignty of other nations, particularly their weaker neighbours, it is essential to arm to maintain peace. So fundamentally defective is the world organization today that hardly are we free from one devastating war, when perforce we must prepare for, and guard against, the next. Until the day dawns when the kingdom of Heaven or a new order of brotherhood displaces the present greedy and grabbing tendencies of men and nations, India must remain fully prepared to meet all eventualities.

Whether India is destined to act in close co-operation with the United Nations and assist in such manner as she can in maintaining peace in the world, particularly in Asia and the Far East; or whether India wants to be fully prepared to defend herself against the evil designs of aggressive nations of the East and of the West, she must have a strong air power.

In modern warfare and in this era of lightning speed, moreover, the time

factor is of supreme importance. A country cannot hope to get ample notice to mobilise its resources; its strength will be judged by what it can put forth on the spur of the moment. Preparedness, rather than potential capacity and latent reserves, should be our watchword. India is a sub-continent and has a large coast line and long frontiers which have to be guarded. India occupies a strategic place on the international highways between the East and the West. Like other countries of the world, India, too, is war-weary, but cannot afford to relax or take things easy.

STRENGTH AND COMPOSITION OF FUTURE I.A.F.

That the I.A.F. has a bright future cannot be denied. The question arises what should be the actual strength and composition of the future I.A.F. Perhaps it is difficult at this time to foresee clearly the structure of the I.A.F. in the years to come. The international situation is so uncertain, the peace treaties have yet to be drafted, the differences among the major powers continue to persist, as abundantly proved by the Big Four Foreign Ministers' Conference recently held in Paris and by the split in the Security Council, that it may yet be too early to lay down hard and fast regulations for the future I.A.F. Moreover, any scheme for the air defence of India must naturally be fitted into the general scheme of all-round defence, including the army and the navy, even though the supreme importance of air power in the world of today has to be recognized. Nevertheless, we might formulate some plans well in advance, subject to such modifications as may be called for in the light of subsequent developments.

The present strength of our air force is only 10 squadrons. This, of course, is quite inadequate. The personnel of the Royal Indian Navy increased 20 times its pre-war strength, but the growth of the I.A.F. has not been as rapid as it ought to have been. At present India has to depend on the R.A.F. for defence, but we must plan ahead for the day, which is now not far off, when India would be able to take over the task of defence completely from the R.A.F. This taking over should be a smooth process, without ill-will on either side. Independence is meaningless if we continue to count on foreign aid, however friendly in nature, for defending our frontiers. From a purely military point of view, India is not yet in a position to defend herself, but she should be made strong enough in the shortest possible time so that our armed forces may be in a position to handle all emergencies. A Free India must, of course, possess a free, national air force. Free India, I believe, would agree to the retention of a certain number of British air experts for training purposes for some time to come, but such technical experts should be fully aware of the change in their status. They would be here in the capacity of paid experts loaned by one independent country to another by virtue of a definite understanding.

In the next ten years I visualize the I.A.F. possessing at least 50 complete squadrons, equipped with the latest machines and other material. That in my view is a moderate estimate. For making India fully capable of defending herself, a much larger air force will be required. The Government of India have announced that the minimum strength of the post-war I.A.F. will be 10

squadrons, plus the necessary ancillaries to maintain a balanced force. Field-Marshal Auchinleck, India's popular Commander-in-Chief, stated in the Council of State on 18 April, 1946, that Government intends to expand this force as rapidly as conditions permit and personnel becomes available. This assurance is good so far as it goes, but in my opinion we should have some concrete plan before us to be completed in a definite number of years.

SHORTAGE OF OFFICERS

Field-Marshal Auchinleck is known for his sympathetic outlook and his sense of justice, and fairplay. Under his leadership we feel confident that the process of nationalization will not be retarded. He pointed out in his speech in the Council of State referred to above :—

We have had considerable difficulty during the war in getting enough Indian officers, particularly pilots of the right type to fill the 10 squadrons, but it is hoped that we shall not be faced with a similar difficulty in future.

A good supply of officers is an absolute essential for any efficient force. The paucity of officers in India was due to several causes, including the lack of suitable opportunities for training, the discouraging political atmosphere, the discontent resulting from various grievances and the late start in building up an air force. If these deterrent factors are eliminated, a healthy atmosphere is created, and opportunities for suitable training, educational and technical, are provided to young Indians and if the State ensures for them a permanent, promising career, I feel confident that a sufficient number of men of the right type will be coming forward for the officers' cadre.

Indian pilots must have no ground for discontent, either as a result of racial discrimination, bad treatment or inadequate pay. The conditions of service must be such as to ensure happy relations. Dissatisfaction leading to request for discharge from service, as was reported recently, should become a thing of the past. Assured of fair play and freedom from prejudice, officers and men of the I.A.F. would work with greater vigour and added zeal.

One of the greatest difficulties in the building up of the I.A.F. has been the supply of technical tradesmen. There is no dearth of people willing to learn the technical and mechanical side of aircraft, and to take up ground work, but adequate training facilities are deplorably lacking in India. It is common knowledge that the vast edifice of the R.A.F. is based on the cadet college at Cranwell for the officers' cadre and the technical school at Halton for tradesmen. If India is to build up an efficient air force, we must have our own Cranwell for rearing up leaders of the future I.A.F. and our own Halton for tradesmen and N.C.O.S. Without such a pair of fully modernized training establishments, it would be virtually impossible to get a sound foundation for a large I.A.F. as is visualized. The Military War Memorial Academy about to be set up near Poona is a step in the right direction. Modern aircraft and the latest methods of training for air defence require that air crews must be recruited young; for pupils at a young age are the fittest and keen to learn and adapt themselves to new technique. Hence the need for prompt steps towards this end.

A few years back, the Empire Air Training Scheme was started, but Indian youngmen were not afforded full facilities for getting training under this scheme. It is not late even now to send promising Indian pilots to Britain and the U.S.A., for training purposes so that Indians might take over all the duties, including highly technical work, from the R.A.F.

Civilian flying will have an important role to play. Indian flying clubs provide the training ground for pilots in war-time, they have done creditable pioneer work and provided good material for the I.A.F. They deserve the fullest encouragement at the hands of the Government of India. Requisite facilities should be provided to such clubs, including an adequate subsidy, up-to-date machines and equipment fresh from the factory or released by the service, and expert instructors. Leading universities in this country should start flying squadrons on the lines of the U.T.C. in order to encourage young men to take to the air. Such measures will greatly help in maintaining a sufficiently large number of auxiliary squadrons and a big volunteer reserve force, which are so essential for a sound system of air defence.

On 3 May, 1946, the Government of India announced that 163 new permanent commissions had been granted in the R.I.A.F. since the cessation of hostilities, out of which 111 were in the general duties (flying) branch. This number is inadequate and should be increased in accordance with the general scheme of building up a strong independent R.I.A.F. The new system of short service commissions announced by the Government of India has certain drawbacks resulting from its temporary tenure, but will help to provide a reserve of pilots. No first class fighting force can be built up on short service commissions; casual and cheap labour do not create loyalty and respect. Young men who have a distinguished record of service during the war years should not be demobilized, but should be retained and their valuable experience utilized for the good of the country.

TYPES OF AIRCRAFT REQUIRED

The I.A.F. must be provided with a variety of machines, including large bombers and fighters to cope with all situations. According to one school of thought, of which Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Harris is the chief exponent, the days of the large bomber are over. If this view be taken as correct, then the future of the air power would lie with small, high powered aircraft, strong and fast enough to intercept and successfully tackle the enemy even at high altitudes. The I.A.F. should, however, in my judgement also possess large bombers, which have still an important function to perform in aerial operations, particularly for bombing long-range targets with accuracy and precision. In accordance with the British dogma that attack is the best form of defence, the R.A.F. was provided with twice as many bombers as fighters. Rockets will no doubt be in vogue, but they have their drawbacks and cannot completely displace bigger aircraft.

It may be argued that in this age of the atomic bomb, it would suit the enemy admirably if we try to shoot down a flying bomb full of atomic explosives! Anti-aircraft guns, fighters or bombers would all be of no avail in such a contin-

gency. There is a fallacy in this argument. Are we to presume that the atom bomb has made all military preparations futile? Or has it driven home the conviction, with greater force than ever, that all peace-loving nations must be fully prepared for all emergencies? The atom bomb, it is true, can do irreparable damage and inflict untold misery on the population before the victim has a chance to gather forces. The Hiroshima and Nagasaki episodes, which bring to our minds the horrible sequels of the atom bomb, must not be repeated if mankind is to survive. Nations surely should not proceed on the assumption that every country will try to outbid the other in manufacturing atom bombs. The menace of the atomic bomb must not be allowed to stalk the earth. It is our earnest hope that wiser counsels will prevail and atomic energy will be used for constructive purposes and not to destroy what has been built.

MANUFACTURE OF AIRCRAFT IN INDIA

Recently an aircraft Mission from the United Kingdom visited India and in the course of its report has recommended that a national aircraft industry be established in this country with a 20-year target of complete self-sufficiency for building aircraft needed for the I.A.F. and civil aviation. It has proposed that aircraft production should be started at Bangalore (where a factory was set up a few years back) as an initial step. The Government of India have decided that manufacture of trainer aircraft for the I.A.F. should begin forthwith. I am of opinion that the 20-year period proposed for attaining self-sufficiency in aircraft production is much too long. It implies that India will have to continue purchasing aircraft from foreign countries even upto 1966. It is to be noted that the mission included representatives of the British aircraft industry, who, while admitting that India can and should manufacture aeroplanes, still proposed a long term 20-year target for India. Perhaps they had the interests of the British aircraft industry in mind while making this recommendation. Since we have to plan a rapid expansion of the I.A.F., necessarily requiring a substantial outlay, I would suggest that the target for self-sufficiency should be 10 years instead of 20, if not less. The Mission proceeded on the assumption that the demand for aircraft is at present comparatively small and, therefore, recommended that only one factory should function at this stage. But if the thesis of this article is accepted and if the plans for expansion of the I.A.F. are given effect to, the demand for aeroplanes of different types will be great. India is fast becoming air-minded and more aircrafts are also needed for civilian requirements. I feel therefore that aircraft production and assembling operations should be started without delay at other centres also besides Bangalore, for instance, at Poona and Barrackpore.

But the building up of a strong air power in India need not wait till we have our own aircraft factories in full working order, for that will take time. Meanwhile India can buy machines from the U.S.A. and Britain. It would be pertinent to suggest in this connection that India's huge sterling balances in London should be used for purchasing, among other things, aircraft for the I.A.F.

India cannot afford to make the colossal outlay required for fully equipping the I.A.F. at once, but out of such expenditure as we can afford, preference should be given to the money needed for building up the I.A.F. The total capital outlay required for this purpose, which would probably run into several crores, may be spread over a number of years. This will make a heavy call on India's finances. If necessary, a loan can be raised in the country for this purpose. I would plead with all the emphasis at my command that the I.A.F. must have every possible means of development, whatever the cost. India under a National Government should go all out, without stint or reservation, to build a pre-eminent air force, so that we might all be proud of it. I would suggest the appointment of a Committee, which should include non-officials and experts to suggest the ways and means to build up a strong I.A.F. on sound lines as quickly as possible. All available resources should be mobilized. The opportunity is now at hand; we must make the best of it, for time marches on.

It is axiomatic that for good air defence, not only are A-1 machines and trained pilots necessary, but also a string of air bases scattered all along the frontiers and the coast line from which aircraft can operate effectively. For interception of the enemy in the air and for warding off naval landings by aerial attacks, bases near India's coast line are of supreme importance. In Britain it has been announced by the Admiralty that all naval officers in future are to learn to fly. This shows the importance attached in the modern age to air power. The Royal Indian Navy must also have adequate air protection. It may be suggested that the air bases established by the American troops during their stay in India, particularly in Bengal and Assam, should not be discarded or reconverted for other uses. All such bases should be taken over by the Government of India, carefully preserved and further developed, if need be, for the use of the I.A.F.

A remarkable feature of the I.A.F. is the fine spirit of comradeship shown by the officers and men. The I.A.F. personnel is recruited from practically all sections of the community, from all provinces of India and include Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims, Christians and Parsees. But base communal feelings are conspicuous by their absence and it is the most harmonious wing of India's defence forces. Nor has efficiency been affected adversely. The I.A.F. has set an excellent example of communal unity, worthy of emulation by other bodies. Up in the air Indian pilots fly, shoulder to shoulder, wing to wing, with one common goal—service of the Motherland. Perhaps kinship in the air or the ethereal atmosphere up in the sky makes them oblivious of despicable tendencies which unfortunately taint the actions of mortals on land.

All well-wishers of India will hope and pray that the I.A.F. might grow from strength to strength as a highly efficient and compact unity, fully able to protect India in every emergency.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SITUATION IN FRANCE SINCE 1939

By HENRI CHARLES

I. *The Third Republic*—The institutions of the Third Republic ceased to exist when, on 10 July, 1940, the National Assembly (that is the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate meeting together) gave Marshal Pétain by 569 votes to 80 (50 persons abstaining) full powers to establish a new Constitution.

At that time, France was still living under the institutions created by the Constitution of 1875 (Constitutional Laws of 24 and 26 February, 16 July, 1875). It had established a parliamentary Republic, headed by a President of the Republic, elected for 7 years by the National Assembly.

The legislative powers were entrusted to two representative Assemblies :

(1) A Chamber of Deputies, consisting of 618 members, elected for 4 years by universal direct suffrage : every male Frenchman over 21 was entitled to vote; the electorate was of 11,600,000 voters. Candidates had to be 25 years old or over.

(2) A Senate of 314 senators, elected for 9 years, one-third of them being replaced every 3 years. It was elected by a universal indirect suffrage (the electoral college was composed of the deputies, the members of the General Councils, (District Councils) and delegates from the Municipal Councils).

The executive powers were exercised by a President of the Council of Ministers (the 'Premier') chosen by the President of the Republic, and the Premier formed a Ministry which was responsible before the Houses. The initiative of the laws was shared between the legislative and executive powers.

It was theoretically possible for the President of the Republic to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, after having secured the approval of a majority in the Senate. As a matter of fact, he never exercised these powers. A few years before the war Orders-in-Council, which had the force of law, came into practice.

II *After 10 July, 1940*—Since that time, France's constitutional situation has been very complex.

(a) *In France*, the 1875 Constitution ceased to be the law of the country. It was decided on 10 July, 1940 that : 'The National Assembly confers to the Government of the Republic, under the signature and authority of Marshal Pétain, the necessary powers to promulgate, in one of several ordinances, the new Constitution of the French State.'

'This constitution must protect the rights of work, family and Country.'

'It will be ratified by the Nation and implemented by the Assemblies it will itself have formed.'

On July 11, 3 'Constitutional Acts' were promulgated in relation to the law passed on the previous day.

By the first one, Pétain declared that he had 'assumed the office of Chief of the French State' and repealed art. 2 of the Constitutional law of 25 February, 1875, which defined the mode of election of the President of the Republic.

By the second one the Chief of the State received full powers, cumulating the functions of President of the Republic and of 'Premier'—he appointed and dismissed the ministers and secretaries of State, who were responsible before him alone.

By the third one, the Senate and the Chamber of the Deputies were maintained until the creation of new Assemblies, but were adjourned '*sine die*' and were not allowed to meet again, except when summoned by the Chief of the State—for the time being, he was the sole legislator.

A short time after that, a fourth Constitutional Act appointed Laval as would-be successor and substitute to Pétain. When Laval was arrested, Darlan succeeded him in this rôle. When Laval came back to power, he was not re-established as 'Dauphin'.

As a matter of fact, Pétain never limited his powers by any Constitution. He only created a 'National Council', which had a purely consultative rôle, which met seldom if ever, and the members of which were nominated by the Chief of the State.

On 20 August, Pétain moved to Germany and maintained for some time a puppet-Government at Baden-Baden and Sigmaringen.

But the Constitution of the Vichy Government was never recognized by Free France, which considered it unlawful on the following grounds :

(1) The National Assembly was summoned and met under conditions that did not give them the freedom necessary to a valid decision.

(2) The National Assembly had no right to give up powers which were its own and to delegate them to a Government which, therefore, was completely illegal.

(3) The 'Chief of the Government of the Republic' overstepped his rights when he suppressed the republican form of France's institutions, since the Constitutional law of 1884 had forbidden the National Assembly to alter this republican form.

On the other hand, Free France could not establish any representative Government, since it exercised its authority outside France itself. They only set up the institutions necessary to wage war against the Axis powers, while considering that the 1875 Constitution was still, in principle, the law of France.

The French Resistance was directed and united by the 'National Council of the Resistance', (C.N.R.) which had been recognized by General de Gaulle, on 15 May, 1943. It only had the power to deal with the situation in France until the arrival of legal and organized authorities and especially to prepare and wage the war against the Germans. General de Gaulle had asked it to

help in preparing the future status of France by giving to the Provisional Government all necessary information about the conditions in France.

On 15 March, 1944, the C.N.R. had established a plan for immediate action after the Liberation, setting up Liberation Committees in towns, villages, factories, under the direction of the different C.D.L. (Departments Liberation Committees) and deciding that, after the Liberation, the parties and movements represented in the C.N.R. would remain united 'to help in the establishment of the Provisional Government of General de Gaulle, to maintain the political and economic independence of the nation, to restore France to its rank and greatness', 'to see to the restoration of equality and democratic principles', 'to introduce important economic and social reforms' and to 'exact the punishment of traitors and Black-Market men.'

The C.N.R. was made up of:

(1) members of the two great Trade Unions (the C.G.T. and the Union of Christian workmen).

(2) members of the political parties as they existed in 1939 and which had not collaborated.

(3) members of the different Resistance movements, which, because of the rôle they were playing in the liberation of their country deserved an important part in the political life of liberated France.

(b) *Outside France* (1) *Free France and Fighting France*—On 18 June, 1940 General de Gaulle broadcast his famous appeal to France in which he refused to recognize either the Armistice or the Government which had signed it, and announced the creation of a 'Provincial French National Committee'.

Later on, in accordance with an Order of the Day, dated 24 September, 1941, a 'Free French National Committee' was formed which was empowered to act officially but provisionally for Free France until such time as the French nationals would be able to elect freely constitutional Government representatives."

Legislative powers were in the hands of General de Gaulle, President of the National Committee, elected by the members of the Committee. Government orders were issued by means of decrees, signed by General de Gaulle and countersigned by one or more National Commissioners.

On 14 July, 1942, the Free French Movement changed its name to 'La France Combattante' (Fighting France.)

(2) *The C.F.L.N.*—On 3 June, 1943, was constituted in Algiers the French Committee for National Liberation (C.F.L.N.) under the co-chairmanship of Generals de Gaulle and Giraud, 'single central French authority' to 'direct the French war effort', which would 'exercise French sovereignty over all territories situated outside the enemy's power, with civil and military authority, power to conclude treaties and agreements, to accredit diplomatic representatives, and have foreign representatives accredited to it.'

But it was only a provisional Government, to exercise its powers 'until such date when the state of Liberation of the territory would permit the formation of a provisional Government in accordance with the laws of the Re-

public. The Committee will then transfer its powers to such a provisional Government. This date-limit will be of the total liberation of the territory.'

On 31 July, 1944, the C.F.L.N. was reorganized, General Giraud limiting his authority to National Defense and General de Gaulle to 'other affairs' and 'the general policy of the Committee', but the latter was at the same time Chairman of the 'Committee of National Defense'. On 9 November, 1944 General de Gaulle became the only President of the C.F.L.N.

The French Consultative Assembly was created by the Ordinance of 17 September, 1943, with 40 representatives of Resistance organizations in France; 12 representatives of former Resistance organizations outside metropolitan France; 20 members of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies; 12 representatives of the General Councils.

It had only consultative powers, but it was compulsory to ask its advice upon the general budget of the C.F.L.N. and any proposal for a loan amounting to more than 500 million francs.

On 21 April, 1944, the C.F.L.N. made it known what would be the organization of public powers in France after the Liberation: the French people were to decide freely their future institutions through a National Constituent Assembly to be elected by secret and direct ballot by every French man and woman over 21, at the latest one year after the complete liberation of the country, as soon as circumstances would permit regular elections to be held'—During the transitional period preceding the convening of the National Constituent Assembly, a gradual re-establishment of republican institutions was to be carried out. In the 'Communes', the Municipal Councils would be maintained or re-established as they were before the war, after dismissal of the councillors who had collaborated. Should the Municipal Council 'have helped or served the plans of the enemy or of the usurper', it would be dissolved and replaced by a 'special delegation', appointed by the prefect on the advice of the Department's Liberation Committee (C.D.L.).

On the departmental plane, the District Councils were to be re-established under the same conditions and with the same reserves—If the councillors who remained loyal were too few in number, the District Council was to be replaced by a District Delegation, composed primarily of the members of the dissolved council who had stuck to their duty and, 'for the remainder, of Frenchmen and women having actively fought against the enemy or the usurping power, taking into account on the one hand the majority existing in the dissolved Council, and on the other hand the political trends which appeared in the Department at the time of the Liberation.'

Moreover, in every liberated Department was to be constituted a Department's Liberation Committee (C.D.L.) 'made up of a representative of each liberation organization, Trade Unions organization, and political party directly affiliated to the National Council of the Resistance existing in the Department.'

On the National plane, the Provisional Government and the Provisional Consultative Assembly were to go to France as soon as possible. Then the

Consultative Assembly would immediately be completed with delegates from the organizations affiliated to the C.N.R.

In the meantime, in Algiers, the C.F.L.N. had, on 3 June, 1944, changed its title into 'Provisional Government of the French Republic', 'which was to assume the responsibility of governing France until the election of the Provisional Representative Assembly.'

III *After the Liberation*

(1) UNTIL THE ELECTION OF THE NATIONAL CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

General de Gaulle arrived in Paris on 25 August on the very day of the capitulation of the German Forces. Before the arrival of the Ministers, their General Secretaries, newly chosen from among the members of the 'Resistance' according to the Ordinance of 19 May, 1944, took charge of the different departments.

In the first days of September, the members of the Algiers Government arrived in Paris and, on the 5th, the Government was modified and enlarged so as to include members of the metropolitan Resistance.

The 'Journal Officiel' of 12 October published the ordinance stating that the Consultative Assembly was to be made up of 248 members and would hold its sittings at the Luxembourg Palace.

According to the Ordinance of 21 April, 1944, were declared ineligible (1) the ex-ministers of the Vichy Government, (2) the members of the Parliament who had voted, on 10 July, for the granting of the full powers to Pétain, (3) the citizens who had helped the enemy and (4) every person who had accepted office from the Vichy Government.

The Consultative Assembly was made up of 148 representatives of the Metropolitan Resistance, 28 representatives of the Overseas Resistance, 12 for the Overseas territories and 60 for the members of the 1939 Houses of Parliament.

It met for the first time on 7 November. Municipal elections were held on 29 April and 13 May. Their results foreshadowed those of October's general elections, with some progress for the Communists, the appearance of a strong M.R.P. and big losses for the Radicals.

As early as June 1945, the constitutional problem was discussed by the parties, and by them and General de Gaulle together. Immediately the left-wing parties, the C.N.R. and the League for the Rights of Man were in favour of a sovereign Constituent Assembly without a referendum. The Government published on 9 July a bill which had been unanimously adopted by the Council of Ministers. The Socialists and Communists, though opposed to the programme, had decided that their ministers were to remain in the Government, in order to avoid a crisis. The bill of the Government provided for a National Assembly, elected by universal suffrage. A referendum was to decide whether the Assembly would be constituent, or would be a Chamber of Deputies according to the 1875 Constitution. If it was to be a Constituent Assembly, the Constitution it would prepare would be submitted to the approval

of the country. The referendum was to decide whether, if the Assembly was to be constituent, the plan to be drafted by the Government for the working of public powers in this interim period would be acceptable to the country.

On 29 July, the Government bill was rejected by the Assembly; a counter project, presented by Vincent Auriol (Socialist) and Claude Bourdet (UDSR) had been previously rejected by 108 votes (Communists, Radicals, Left-wing parties) against 101 (Socialists, U.D.S.R. (which is a group closely related to them) and the M.R.P.).

On 8th August the Government, disregarding the opinion of the Consultative Assembly, decided on a course similar to the Auriol Bourdet motion. An ordinance of 17th August, 1945 outlined the *electoral law* under which the Constituent Assembly was to be elected: 522 deputies for France itself, 69 for Overseas France, which meant one deputy for every 40,000 voters. The system of proportional representation was adopted, with the use of left-over votes not on the national plane, but inside every department.

The *referendum* was to ask the country two questions.

(1) 'Do you want the Assembly elected to-day to be constituent?'

If the answer was 'Yes', it would mean that the return to the 1875 Constitution would be rejected.

If the answer was 'No', the elected Assembly would be the Chamber of Deputies, according to the 1875 Constitution, and a Senate would be elected within the next two months.

(2) 'If the electorate has answered "Yes" to the first question, do you approve of the public powers to be organized until the new Constitution will be put into force in accordance with the bill of the Government the text of which is on the back of this bulletin?'. If the answer was 'No', the Constituent Assembly was to be fully sovereign.

If the answer was 'Yes', the Assembly was elected for 7 months only and its task was to draft a Constitution to be submitted to the country in the month following its being voted by the Assembly. If the Assembly had not drafted the Constitution, or if this Constitution was rejected by the country, another Constituent Assembly was to be elected in the same conditions.

The Assembly was to have legislative powers, the right to vote the budget, and to exercise control over the Government, which was responsible before the Assembly, but could be dismissed only by a vote to that effect.

(2) *The First Constituent Assembly*.—The country voted on 21 October. On the first question of the referendum an overwhelming majority (96.9%) voted 'Yes', thus rejecting the 1875 Constitution. On the second question, there was a large majority (66.3%) of 'ayes'—the Socialists, the MRP and most of right-wing voters supported the bill of the Government. On the same day the Constituent Assembly was elected. Communists, Socialists and MRP came out as the 3 main parties, and formed a coalition Government presided over by General de Gaulle.

The Assembly met for the first time on 6 November. On 8 November, it elected unanimously General de Gaulle as President of the Provisional

Government. On 20 January, 1946, General de Gaulle resigned and was succeeded, on the 23rd, by M. Felix Gouin. The Assembly approved the new Constitution on 19 April by 309 votes to 249. For this vote, the coalition had split, the MRP voting against a single and sovereign Assembly.

The Constitution was presented to the country on 5 May and rejected by about one million votes. The referendum asked only one question: "Do you approve of the Constitution passed by the Constituent Assembly?"

On 2 June, a second Constituent Assembly had been elected which was asked to draft and vote a new constitution during another period of 7 months.

The Implications of a Democratic World-order: Problems Arising out of Cultural and Racial Contacts

By IRAWATI KARVE

SOME historians and sociologists have tried to write the history of certain regions as successive epochs of cultural and racial contact and conflict followed by epochs of mixture and amalgamation, leading ultimately to cultural stagnation when one cycle is completed and another is begun with new cultural contacts. Though the historical process cannot be reduced to such a simple formula, it is, certainly, mainly made up by human communities coming in contact, so that historical problems are mostly problems of cultural and racial contact.

RACIAL MIGRATIONS AND RACE CONTACT

(i) *Early Period*—Let us first study the phenomenon of racial migrations and race contact. At the beginning of Egyptian history, the distribution of races in the world was as follows:—In Eurasia the whole of the north-eastern bloc belonged mainly to the Mongoloids (from the Arctic to the Himalayas and from the Urals to the Pacific). Europe, west of the Urals, the whole of the Mediterranean basin and Egypt belonged to stocks which were akin to the Europoids while Africa, outside of the Egyptian Empire, was inhabited by Negroes. The two Americas were inhabited by peoples of the Mongoloid stock and Indonesia and Australia by a very mixed population composed of the Australoids, the so-called Protomongolians and Europoids. India was most probably inhabited by Australoids and dark-skinned Europoids. (The languages spoken were the semitic and hemitic, the dravidian Monkhmer). This picture of the distribution of world population was disturbed about four thousand years ago when hordes of Indo-Germanic people started moving south. They carried their language up to the banks of the Krishna in India and into the whole of Persia. and Mesopotamia, and then deep into Egypt. The Indo-Germanic pressure continued to exert its influence by continuous migration up to the fall of the Roman Empire and the decline of the Vikings. The Mongoloid-pastoral people in the north were another element that dis-

turbed time and again the settled life of the nations in the old civilization belt from China to Spain. They provided China with one dynasty after another, at frequent intervals they penetrated up to the Danube and raided India. The Mongoloid peoples have been slowly penetrating Burma, Malay Peninsula, Java, Sumatra and the island world of the Pacific.

If we study the nature and result of cultural and racial contacts of this period, certain important facts emerge. The northerners were a semi-nomadic pastoral people and always seemed to have gained the upper hand wherever they met the agricultural and commercial city dwellers of the south. The Hyksos ruled over Egypt, the Kassites over Babylonia, the old Persians in Susa, the Vedic Aryans in the Gangetic plain and the northern Mongoloid nomads in China. These people, though conquerors, were poor in their material possessions and had to learn most of the arts of life from the peoples they conquered. They took up the dress, the food, the mode of dwelling and even the gods of the conquered. There never was a replacement of the gods of the conquered people by those of the conquerors. On the contrary the conquerors were always anxious to make peace with the gods and the priests of the country in which they came and settled. They built temples to their own gods side by side with the shrines of the indigenous gods so that in a few generations the conquerors became identified completely with the new culture which arose out of the union of the native culture with their own. The initial conflict was never very sharp, the difference in the cultural levels of the conquered and the conquerors was never too great and lastly, the time required for a gradual acculturation was always available. In all these countries the dynastic rule prevailed and whatever the court intrigues which set up and pulled down kings, the fate of the common man was always the same. Wars and treaties transferred whole districts from one ruler to another, but possibly the transfer was but rarely felt by the populace, except that the outlying towns of an empire generally tried to evade the dues to the king, called in the neighbour if their own king insisted on his dues and sometimes paid the penalty for their intrigue with a complete and ruthless devastation of their land and properties. But even this extreme punishment did not mean permanent destruction, as the moment the avenging armies retired, the original owner came back and settled on his old estate. Sometimes a new conqueror came and occupied the land, in which case, the old population either retreated deeper into forests or served as serfs on the land that was once theirs. As the majority of the people were illiterate each cultural group spoke its own language unless it was outnumbered by the other group. There was free borrowing of material and technological culture, of ideas, of deities, of linguistic elements, so that for a modern student of ancient cultures it is very difficult to assign cultural elements to their original ethnic groups. There was a thorough mix-up of cultures and races. Thus the Hittites used a cuneiform, semitic script to write an Indo-Germanic language, the Mittani, who swore by Mitra and Varuna gave their daughters to Egyptian kings, the worshippers of Amon and other deities. The latter kings of Assyria felt constrained as conquerors of Babylonia to hold the hands of Marduk in order to strengthen their claims to

Babylonian kingship, the Atharva Veda hymns sang of Taimata, the Babylonian demon, and Rigvedic hymns contain words of Monkhmer or Austric origin. Lastly the Vedic people adopted Shiva, the non-Vedic god of Kashi, as their own god. Mercenary soldiers, curious pilgrims, representatives of different courts and traders kept a continuous, if slow, contact between the countries from China to Spain. As the religious development in China and India shows, the tolerant polytheistic religions tended to become in the intellectual circles non-theistic or pantheistic, in which the supreme reality was drained of all personal and moral content. The good and the bad, the weak and the strong, the ugly and the beautiful, were all ultimately the manifestations of reality, and hence the ideal of a good monarch was toleration of all sects, peoples and cultures. Religion always remained with a few sporadic exceptions, an individual, non-political, cultural possession.

(ii) *The Rise of Christianity and Mohamedanism*—With the rise of Christianity and later of Mohamedanism we come to a new epoch of culture contacts and culture conflicts. Both these religions had their roots in ancient Babylonian traditions and both elevated to supreme god-head a tribal deity—Jahweh in one case, Allah in the other. The early Christians rose in a well-ordered state—The Roman Empire—and took the way of persuasive conversion. Mahomed rose in the days when the Roman Empire had already split into Western and Eastern divisions and these again into smaller semi-independent states. The zealous followers of the new religion spread their faith and their State at the point of the sword and in a very much shorter time conquered and converted peoples of a region, much larger than Europe, which had become the home of Christianity. In the case of Christianity the south conquered the north, but not by physical pressure as the northern nomads had done, but by the force of a fanatical idea. The whole of Europe, people by people and nation by nation, was christianized by a religious organization which soon developed into a political power.

The Roman Catholic Church—the Christian Church—had its birth in the most civilized region of the ancient world, was familiar with the imperialist government of Rome, and in its northern expansion had to deal with only illiterate primitive people without an organized religion, torn by tribal feuds and exhausted by huge folk movements towards the south and by the Viking expeditions in the Baltic and the Atlantic. Christianity offered a double attraction to its followers. Not only were the Christian clergymen in possession of all the material culture—the art of reading and writing, weaving and farming which were either wholly or partially absent from pre-Christian Europe, they also gave a definite promise for a future better than the present, which the primitive pagan religions did not. The process of christianizing Europe was almost a deliberate act of long term policy on the part of the Catholic Church which felt called upon by God to spread a certain message. This peculiar urge which lent a continuity in time and a definite direction to a cultural process had no parallel in previous world history.

The spread of Buddhism, a few centuries before Christianity, in the whole of the Eastern world cannot be compared with the spread of Christianity in

Europe. Buddhism was a legitimate culmination of a long continued polytheistic culture which, as I have pointed out earlier, tended gradually to become non-theistic or pantheistic. Buddhism raised no new god nor did it hold up a bright future life, but preached a new way of life which minimized the pain and sorrow inevitable in human existence. The ease with which Hinduism, taking up most of the salient features of Buddha's teaching, re-established itself in India, or the fantastic forms that Buddhism has taken in the countries in which it spread, show that Buddhism never had the force of a revealed religion with a single message of a narrow fanatical creed based on the words of a prophet.

A few centuries after the birth of Christ, while the Christian Church was beginning to consolidate its northern conquest and had split into an eastern and a western church, Mahomed preached his new religion in Arabia. The Arab raids into the fertile land of Mesopotamia and the Eastern Mediterranean shores took on the colouring of a religious mission. Formerly they were sporadic and of short duration: they carried destruction, pillaged and looted the fair cities of the Middle East, but left as suddenly as they came, leaving the land to recover from the shock and rebuild on the ruins of the old. These raids were of the nature of Nadirshah's pillage of Delhi or Mohmud of Ghazni's raids into India. But after the rise of Mahomedanism, the Arab tribes started on an amazing career of conquest in the name of their religion. Permanent military posts, which developed into prosperous cities, were established in the lands they conquered. They swept the whole of southern Europe but were ultimately driven back to the Balkans. They slowly conquered the whole of North Africa and great parts of East and West Africa. The teachings of Mahomed found a ready response in the nomadic tribes of the Asiatic plateau. The Turks, the Tartars and the Mongols were Mahomedanized and as these wandering tribes had always exerted a pressure on the fertile plains of India and China they carried the creed of Islam southwards and eastwards. Islam offered to the civilized people of the Middle East their religion at the point of the sword, those that did not accept the new religion had to die or flee the country as the Parsees did. To the northern nomads the new religion offered a faith extremely simple in its tenets, extremely concrete in what it offered in the values of this world and the next and without the undue asceticism of the early Christians. The Mahomedan religion is extremely simple in its primary tenets and in its ritual, and possesses no speculative thoughts about the ultimate nature of the universe, or the place of the good and the bad in it. From its very inception it had spread freely among the dark and white peoples of the earth and its doctrine of the brotherhood of all believers is absolutely untainted by racial prejudice. Mahomedanism is singularly free from colour prejudice, and the black and the white are in theory absolutely on terms of equality among the followers of Islam.

On the other hand, Christianity, due to a historical accident, spread in that part of the world which was all white; for more than a thousand years all its energies and labours were spent among white people. When it met brown and black people, it started with certain antipathies against them. Its arts

had already depicted the truest ideal of beauty as that of the white man and woman—a thousand pictures stamped undeniably, Christ as a bearded white man. The very religious tenets of Mahomedanism forbade the drawing of a man or animal and their god and his prophets remained an undefined entity to be imagined as each pleased. Wherever Islam spread, it became rooted in the new soil, it spread and maintained itself with the help of native priesthood and never required a mission hierarchy controlled from Arabia. Islam started first in the Middle East and then wherever it went schools for the teaching of the Koran were established. These schools were not theological colleges but real primary schools where the poorest might attend and learn to read and write. Thus though Islam started six centuries later than Christianity, it had spread so rapidly and in such a wide area that Christianity met Islam as a powerful rival in all its adventures in the East.

(iii) *European Dominance of the World*—We now come to the third and the final epoch of world contact. It is really a continuation of the second epoch, but certain events and new discoveries make it necessary to demarcate this third period which started about five centuries ago with the discoveries of America and the sea-route from Europe to India. This third phase is the period of European dominance of the world. In the world of pre-dynastic Egypt it had taken mankind over a hundred thousand years to occupy the then known world. From Egypt to Christianity is a history of ten thousand years. Christianity took a thousand years to spread in Europe, and Islam the same period for expansion in Asia and parts of Africa, while the European domination of the world started only a few hundred years ago and has reached its completion. In the pre-Christian history of ten thousand years, people and regions outside the narrow strip from the Mediterranean to the China sea were left untouched and undisturbed by the material advance of the civilized belt. But just as the time scale has shrunk progressively, so also has the world shrunk until no corner of the world is isolated enough to be free of the influence of the West.

The art of navigation, even before the days of the steamship, had advanced so far that expeditions could be planned for cargo-ships to sail to distant lands and come back laden with goods. The steamship curtailed the time of travel and accelerated the rate of exploitation. A few white sailors equipped with fire-arms could overcome and subdue completely the primitive peoples of America, Africa, Australia and the Pacific Islands. Trading companies got possession rights over huge territories in a matter of a few days or hours by the native chiefs, or in exchange for toys and gimracks or by extermination of the native populations. In all these primitive areas zealous clergymen with no better equipment than a knowledge of their own dogma, soon settled for conversion of the native population to whatever brand of Christianity they belonged to. The primitive people were thought to belong to a lower creation, slightly above the animals and certainly far below the Europeans. I need not talk in the past tense because this view is still held by the majority of Europeans in Asia, Africa and America even to-day.

Western Europe underwent an extremely painful transformation from the

agricultural and artisan stage to full-fledged industrialism of the mechanical age. In the first phase of this transformation a constant and growing supply of human material was required to work the new devices. This entailed a large scale transfer of whole sections of population from their ancestral surroundings in villages to industrialized towns and cities. They were herded together with strangers, and forced to work at fixed hours and had fixed hours of leisure. They were at a loss to know how to spend their leisure hours in narrow dirty homes in surroundings which were equally dirty. There was no longer the possibility of lolling under a village tree and gossiping. So new ways of mass-enjoyment like racing, association football and finally the cinemas came up to fill the leisure hours of this crowd. In its work as well as in its leisure these huge crowds represented uprooted cultureless humanity which had to create a new world and new values through years of painful adjustment and conflict. In the meanwhile the ever improving mechanical devices hurried the pace of manufacture, fulfilled the native need, exhausted the home sources of raw material and required ever greater quantities of raw material and ever widening markets for its machine-made mass-produced goods. Thus the Europeans who came in contact with the primitive world did not come to barter as the old trader had done, did not come to settle and make the new countries their home in common with the old residents, but they came to get as much as they could in as short a time as possible. They worked the natural resources without a thought for the land or an eye for the future and worked the primitive people without understanding and without mercy. If the ordinary European traded for the body and the material wealth of the primitive people, the missionary traded for his soul. In the slave trade days when Negroes were kidnapped and transported in thousands from their native homes to the Americas, in the days of indentured labour when Chinese and Indians were transported in thousands to Africa, the Malay Peninsula, the Straits Settlements, Trinidad and other places, we meet the same process as had taken place in Western Europe. Whereas the European Industrial Revolution affected its own people and gave them some time for a vague comprehension of what was occurring and for slow and painful adjustment, it came to the natives in all the other parts of the world as an unexplained outside compulsion, which uprooted their body and soul from their physical and cultural environments and turned them into a world proletariat without home, without culture, without moorings. Communities which were not transferred from their homes were made to work in mines, plantations and factories for material which was not required by them. They were called lazy and listless for refusing to work in a system which was utterly incomprehensible to them, and several ways and means were found to destroy their smug satisfaction with their ancestral pursuits. Firstly, as in Africa and in the Pacific they were made to pay a tax in cash which they could not gather by working on their fields, and to earn which they had to serve European masters in various capacities. Secondly, the introduction of flashy articles and alcohol increased their wants for ready money or surplus produce for purposes of exchange.

(To be continued)

INTERNATIONAL TRADE ORGANIZATION*

By N. S. PARDASANI

IN a joint statement dated 6 December, 1945, the United States and the United Kingdom Governments have published the proposals submitted by the United States for consideration by an International Conference. These proposals have the endorsement of the executive branch of the Government of the United States and have been submitted to other Governments as a basis for discussion, preliminary to the holding of an International Conference. The Government of the United Kingdom accepts these proposals as a basis and is in full agreement on all important points. The two Governments have also agreed upon the international implementation of these proposals and have, to this end, undertaken preliminary negotiations between themselves and with other countries for the purpose of developing concrete arrangements to carry out these proposals.

Though the proposals are necessarily tentative in character, there is a real danger that if the United States and the United Kingdom agree on the main points, the rest of the world may be compelled to follow on. In view, further, of the intimate connexion between the monetary and commercial aspects of international co-operation, the acquiescence of other countries may be secured, not so much on the merits of the trade proposals as on the presentation of a dilemma of either joining all or none of the international organizations. There is, therefore, an urgent necessity to review these proposals before they get crystallized and embodied in an International Agreement.

The proposals are divided into three unequal parts. The *first* part emphasizes the need for international economic co-operation and states that co-operative action for trade and employment is indispensable to the success of measures dealing with monetary and investment policy, and that effective action in regard to employment and trade discrimination must, therefore, be taken or the programme of international economic co-operation will fail. The *second* part points out that high and stable employment is a necessary condition for an enlarged volume of trade and recognizes certain governing principles regarding employment policy, which are so obvious that their statement and inclusion in these proposals appears to be a matter of mere form. For example, it says that 'the attainment and maintenance of approximately full employment is essential to the expansion of international trade and to liberal international agreements regarding commercial policy, commodity problems, restrictive business practices, monetary stabilization and investment.' Similarly, it states an equally obvious general proposition that domestic employment programmes should be consistent with liberal international agreements and

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the economic well-being of the nations.' What requires careful consideration is, however, the provision that in order that this high and stable level of employment may be maintained, each member is required to give the following four undertakings :—

1. Each signatory will take action to maintain full employment through measures *appropriate* to its institutions.
2. No nation will use measures likely to create unemployment in other countries or which are *incompatible* with expanding international trade and investment.
3. Signatories will arrange individually and under the Economic and Social Council of the UNO for the collection and exchange of information on employment questions.
4. Signatories will consult regularly on employment problems.

Leaving out the last two provisions relating to consultation and collection and exchange of information which are obviously subsidiary in character, the remaining two substantive measures are too vague to be of any practical use. For example, what employment measures can be interpreted as *appropriate* to the institutions of a country? And which national measures, again, can be regarded as *incompatible* with expanding international trade and investment? It is well known that appropriateness or compatibility depends largely on the short-term or long-term view points we adopt, and in the context of the economic conditions of a country, would depend upon the availability of alternative policies. An international agreement in such vague terms, therefore, serves no purpose. This part of the proposals has received such scant attention that it is doubtful whether these proposals can be said to have made any direct contribution to the formulation of correct national employment policies. In fact, it would be more appropriate to call them Trade Proposals, rather than Trade and Employment Proposals, since any effect on the level of employment, which is likely to ensue, will be entirely via trade. If it is accepted that high and stable employment is a necessary condition for an enlarged volume of trade, the failure to ensure suitable employment policies may well prove to be the greatest drawback of these proposals. It is no excuse to suggest that employment policy is necessarily national and that an International Agreement cannot, by its very nature, lay down the content of that policy. For, while it is true that the specific measures adopted will have to be decided in the light of national needs and resources including the social priorities adopted by a country, there is undoubtedly room for an international regulation of certain important aspects of that policy. Such factors as total public outlay, measures to promote private investment or to increase propensity to consume, either directly by subsidies or by large redistributive taxation, and measures to prevent or quickly correct frictional, seasonal or casual unemployment can all be brought under international scrutiny to check the possibility of a depression originating anywhere or a state of under-employment being perpetuated. Besides, a more positive approach to promote investment in backward countries under international auspices, so as to *create* rather than *maintain* demand, and

thereby start a spiral of increasing activity is a matter which should be regarded as an integral part of a full employment programme for the world as a whole. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development cannot be trusted to do this work with the same thoroughness and vigour as would be done by an international organization expressly charged with the function of promoting employment. While the Bank will only provide limited accommodation for specific projects and thereby restore facilities for long-term lending, its scope is necessarily restricted by what may be called 'commercial considerations.' It is necessary, however, to rise above these considerations and *develop* rather than merely stabilize the volume of international investment. Besides, in any international approach to employment policy, the restrictions on immigration imposed by countries like the U.S., Canada and Australia and the political disabilities on foreign immigrants by countries like South Africa should be regarded as even more undesirable than tariffs and subsidies. It is, however, significant that the American proposals do not contain a word of disapproval of such policies, obviously because neither the United States nor the United Kingdom is interested in any such discussion. The operative part of the proposals is, therefore, directed entirely to regulation of international trade, which forms the *third* and the largest part of the draft. This is again sub-divided into an introduction and six chapters. The introduction explains the need for an International Trade Organization (I.T.O.) and the first chapter states the purpose of such a body. Since these receive a more detailed attention in the later chapters, there is perhaps not much point in criticizing their general nature. One of the purposes, however, is to 'facilitate access by all members, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world'. Equal access to raw materials, in so far it has any definite meaning at all, has harmful consequences for poor and undeveloped countries like India, specially when there are no corresponding obligations of equal access to capital goods or equal access to territories. Chapter II contains a brief statement that the original members of the Organization should be those countries participating in the Conference on Trade and Employment which accept membership. It is also suggested that in order to avoid trade restrictions and discrimination through exchange techniques, the I.T.O. and the International Monetary Fund should have a common membership. This apparently sound principle will make it all the more difficult for countries like India to make up their minds.

It is Chapter III that lays down the main principles of international agreement as to general commercial policy. Though the interest of commercial policy proper attaches only to the sections dealing with Tariffs, Preferences, Quantitative Trade Restrictions and Subsidies, a word may first be said about the provisions intended to improve commercial practice and to eliminate administrative, fiscal and transport handicaps on imports. In this respect, members are required to undertake :

1. To accord to imports from other members treatment, no less favourable than that accorded to domestic products, regarding internal taxation and regulation of trade.

2. To provide for products in transit from or to other members, freedom, from customs and transit duties, from unreasonable charges, and from discriminatory treatment.
3. To subscribe to a general definition under which anti-dumping duties may be applied to imports from other members.
4. To give effect to agreed principles of tariff valuation based on true commercial values for assessing duties, and to work out standard valuation procedures.
5. To simplify customs formalities and thus to eliminate indirect protection.
6. To eliminate excessive requirements regarding marks of origin affecting other members.
7. To refrain from governmentally financed or organized boycotts aimed at products of other members.
8. To provide for publicity on regulations affecting foreign trade, and to maintain national independent tribunals to review administrative customs action.
9. To transmit to the (International Trade) Organization trade information and statistics.
10. To co-operate in carrying out the Articles of the Organization.

There is not likely to be any difference of opinion either among governments or among private businessmen as to the desirability of securing these objects. In fact, substantial progress had already been made in this direction in the inter-war period. This is a domain where the interests of exporters and importers the world over coincide and the only difficulties that may be anticipated are procedural, since it takes some time to persuade a country to change its system of customs assessment and administration.

Coming to the commercial policy proper, we find that by far the most important clause of the proposals is the one which requires members to arrange for 'the substantial reduction of tariffs and for the elimination of tariff preferences, action for the latter being taken in conjunction with the substantial reduction of trade barriers.' As an initial step in eliminating tariff preferences, it is to be agreed that :

- (a) Existing international commitments will not stand in the way of action agreed upon with respect to tariff preferences.
- (b) All negotiated reductions in m.f.n. tariffs will automatically reduce or eliminate preferences.
- (c) Preferences on any product will in no case be increased and no new preferences will be introduced.

Members are also to undertake not to impose or maintain export duties which discriminate against any country.

Thus, all sorts of preference in import or export trade are sought to be outlawed. This is undoubtedly a blow to the system of Imperial Preference built up by the United Kingdom and the importance which that country openly attaches to that system is reflected in the proposals in the requirement

that the action for the preferences is to be undertaken *in conjunction with* the substantial reduction of trade barriers, presumably by the United States. This lumping together of tariff reduction and elimination of preferences is a compromise formula arrived at by the two leading commercial nations of the world. From the point of view of other countries, it means that the obstinacy of countries which are a part of a preferential system should also retard the tariff reduction by others, and *vice versa*. But, the proposals have been framed as if the other countries are only indirectly involved. How else can one explain the following remark which occurred in the *Economist* dated 15 December, 1945, 'The largest practical question' it says, 'which the proposals invite is simply this: are they fair between the world's largest trading nations, America and Britain? Judging by that standard, the United Kingdom has undoubtedly a right to complain that while the condemnation of preferences is wholesale and complete, 'substantial' reduction of tariffs is all very vague. Not only is America not committed thereby to any scheduled levelling down of the tariff but it has actually provided itself with an escape clause by which countries are permitted to impose emergency tariffs to prevent sudden and wide-spread injury to producers. By the very circumstances of such a case, any elaborate international expert enquiry to judge the necessity of such action, will be excluded. Though this clause will, in principle, be available to all countries, it is of special significance to the United States because at the present stage of her industrial maturity, tariffs have no longer a developmental function to perform and are primarily of emergency value which is sought to be retained. This advantage is also valuable to the United Kingdom, though the opportunities for use may be less in view of the altogether minor part which the tariffs play in her economy. But backward countries like India where the tariff, in spite of all its theoretical drawbacks, is still an important instrument of industrial policy, the escape clause is of little importance. But much more important than this is the glaring omission in the proposals regarding tariffs of the recognition of the special needs of the industrially backward countries. It is nowhere conceded that a general tariff reduction is an impossibility by such countries as have still a considerable leeway to make in the matter of their general economic development. In fact, an immediate and all round increase in tariffs may become necessary if a comprehensive and rapid economic development is undertaken in a country like India. Even preferences which may appear to be bad because they are discriminatory may be a useful weapon for backward countries. There is thus a fatal flaw in the whole approach to the problem of tariff reduction and preferences. In the present context, an international agreement of this kind will mean a permanent state of stunted growth for those countries which happen to be comparatively underdeveloped. Such countries cannot but look upon these proposals as either mischievous, if they are specific, or merely sentimental appeals, if they are general. Unless it is realized that the ideal of freer trade between all countries is an impossible proposition in the present context of comparative economic development, the approach to trade and employment policy will be found defective.

Countries like India which have been prevented by political and social factors from utilizing the potentialities of a vigorous tariff policy and which are just emerging from a position of tutelage and frustration cannot be deprived of their opportunities by countries which have in the past, in spite of several natural advantages, made ample use of the tariff to develop their industries.

The proposals also seek to abolish quantitative trade restrictions on imports and exports, in the form of quotas, embargoes, etc. It is, however, realized that such restrictions may be necessary in order to ensure certain classification or grading and this is, therefore, allowed. It is also felt that in the transitional period of about three years after the war, the scarcity of shipping space, the need for equitable distribution of products in short supply and the orderly liquidation of war supplies may make it difficult to remove all such restrictions. But once the early post-war period is over, quantitative restrictions will be outlawed except for three reasons :

(1) Export restrictions of food stuffs and other essential products to relieve distress in the exporting country; (2) Export or import quotas under inter-governmental commodity agreements which are to be arrived at whenever there is a commodity 'in burdensome supply' and when other methods fail to yield results, and (3) Restrictions to safeguard the balance of payments.

The first reason is understandable. The second is defensible only on the ground that it is apparently a means of last resort; this will be examined a little later. But the third is clearly untenable. In fact, both the second and the third reasons reveal a fundamental error in the whole concept of the maintenance of the volume of international trade. Members are, by these provisions, allowed to restrict trade and thus perhaps create valid reasons for other countries to restrict theirs. It is not realized that if a commodity is in 'burdensome world supply,' and international approach to the problem necessitates the distribution of that product without any nice calculations of the immediate profitability of the sale rather than the curtailment of its production. Restrictionist schemes are defensible in narrow contexts but are wholly irrelevant in a world-wide approach. Similarly, quantitative trade restrictions to balance payments cannot be justified in the light of the lessons of the inter-war period. It also goes against the spirit of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank. Besides, it is mentioned that quantitative trade restrictions to correct an adverse balance of payment should be non-discriminatory. This may appear to be just but, in practice, is likely to aggravate the deflationary consequences, since instead of localizing the injury it will seek to spill it over. The provisions regarding scarce currencies in the International Monetary Fund are calculated to avoid this very consequence. In fact, in his original proposals for a Bancor Union, Keynes had gone even further and had sought to impose certain obligations on creditor countries, but due undoubtedly to the pressure exercised by the U.S. a much more moderate clause was ultimately embodied in the final Bretton Woods Agreement. And the proposals contained in this document seek to diminish the responsibility of the creditor countries even further, so that the burden of adjustment

will fall on the debtor countries which in effecting what are called 'global cuts' to safeguard their balances will be inflicting equal, though unmerited, hardships on other countries. Thus the scarce currency provision will be partially circumvented by these non-discriminatory global restrictions to correct an adverse balance of payments.

The next important provision is the one relating to subsidies. A distinction is drawn between subsidies to increase exports and subsidies to reduce imports. After a period of three years, all export subsidies are to go and any subsidy which still continues is to be discussed by the International Trade Organization. Similarly all subsidies to reduce imports, though not outlawed, are to be reported to that body and discussed. An exception is made in the case of commodities in surplus supply if all other methods of adjustment have failed.

It will be noticed that the Agreement does not require any definite abrogation on the part of the members of the use of subsidies for local production, but only asks for information to be conveyed and a discussion to be organized. In the case of export subsidies, the intention is to put an end to them in three years' time though the rule is not made rigid. These provisions have been characterized as rather generous. But, it is contended that the chief advantage of this will accrue to a rich country like the United States which alone is in a position to finance industrial protection in this direct manner. Without challenging the motives which have prompted the insertion of this clause in this form, it should, I think, be admitted that even for countries like India, subsidies as a form of protection have much larger possibilities than has been conceded even by ardent protectionists in this country. Though the tariff is a more spectacular, vigorous and altogether popular form of protection, in a poor country like India, the need for minimizing the necessary sacrifices would appear to point in the direction of a greater reliance on subsidies. The requirements of this clause, vague as they are, are not likely to do harm, though their capacity to do good depends on the readiness with which national subsidies are brought under international scrutiny and on the extent to which the special needs of the backward countries are given international recognition.

Mention may be made of the special clauses applying to countries which engage in state trading. They are to undertake that their foreign purchases and sales would be influenced solely by commercial considerations. Those maintaining state monopolies should negotiate, in the manner contemplated for tariffs, the maximum protective margin between the landed price of the product and the price at which it is sold in the home market. Where members have a complete state monopoly of foreign trade, they are required to purchase annually from members products valued at not less an aggregate amount. This global purchase arrangement is subject to periodic adjustment.

Thus, state trade organizations are to practise no discrimination of a non-commercial nature and are to commit themselves to a minimum quantum of purchase over certain short periods. It is surprising that there is no attempt made to relate the purchase of a state monopoly to its sales which would appear to be perhaps the only relevant criterion. A mere guarantee as to minimum

purchase is altogether too crude a way to ensure the expansion of trade and employment which is the declared objective of the proposals. An obligation to balance its payments on trade account over short periods and an arrangement by which she can, by resorting to international borrowing, maintain a deficit balance, if she is adjudged as a backward country, would be a more appropriate requirement.

A brief reference may now be made to the remaining, comparatively minor, points, in the proposals. Members maintaining exchange restrictions are to accord to the trade of other members equality of treatment under the International Monetary Fund. Restrictions of foreign trade are allowed in the case of certain measures like protecting public morals or safeguarding human, animal or plant life or protecting national treasures of artistic, historic or archaeological value. From the point of view of India a very interesting clause is the one which states that if any member has more than one customs territory, each should be considered a separate member for the purpose of the provisions regarding general commercial policy. This opens out vast opportunities of a delightfully complicated position in view of the numerous Indian states which have their own independent customs tariffs.

Members are further called upon to curb restrictive business practices in international trade, such as agreements to fix prices and terms of sale, divide markets, limit production or exports, suppress invention, or exclude enterprises from particular fields, which frustrate the expansion of production equal access to markets and maintenance of high employment and real income. This heroic clause deserves great praise for the range of the subjects which it covers; but the only international provision made to secure its enforcement relates to hearing and discussing complaints that these objectives are being frustrated by a private international combination. The International Trade Organization will conduct studies, make recommendations and call conferences for general consultation. It thus acts on the assumption that publicity and persuasion are the only weapons that can be used even when a member country or a private body is flagrantly violating international standards in this respect.

The absence of any penal clauses against such restrictive practices, is deplorable from the point of view of maintaining fair conditions of trade, and is particularly disappointing from the view-point of backward countries which have been, and are likely to continue to be, the chief victims of such practices. It is here that the failure to include shipping as a part of a general trade organization will be felt the most by countries which have seen their nascent shipping enterprises strangled by foreign companies resorting to unfair restrictionist practices.

A reference was made above to the inter-governmental commodity arrangements. Detailed provisions regarding these are contained in Chapter V which lays down the principles and procedure of such agreements. These relate to trade in primary commodities which are presumed to be exposed to certain special difficulties. Provision is, therefore, made for organizing special studies convening conferences of the countries interested to agree to suitable policies. Representation is to be given to consuming as well as to

producing countries, and the agreements are to assure adequate supplies for world consumption at reasonable prices. Full publicity is to be given to such draft commodity agreements of the proposing members, to the operation of the agreements and to the corrective measures adopted. They are to remain in force for a period not exceeding five years and are subject to periodic readjustment.

It must be conceded that an attempt has been made, perhaps for the first time, to accord equal representation, and one hopes equal voice, in the conclusion of such agreements, to producing and consuming countries. It is however, a pity that such situations involving restrictionist measures should be allowed to arise at all. The International Trade Organization should be able to start a spiral of expanding trade and investment in which the so-called 'burdensome supplies' of primary products should contribute to a higher standard of living rather than raise problems of curtailment. But in view of the persistent avoidance of an expansionist approach, these measures appear to be necessary and they are fair within the narrow range of their context.

In order to implement the above provisions, the draft suggests the setting up of an International Trade Organization consisting of a Conference, the Executive Board, three Commissions, an Industrial and Mineral Unit and a Secretariat.

The Conference is to have final authority to determine the policies of the Organization and is to be composed on the principle of one vote for each member country. This simple and obviously democratic method of representation is to be contrasted with the highly unequal distribution of votes in the organization of the I.M.F. and the I.B. of R. & D. and reflects the comparative unimportance of the I.T.O. in the eyes of the United States and the United Kingdom. The Conference is to meet at least once a year. The Executive Board, which is to take provisional decisions between meetings of the Conference, is to consist of not more than 18 member states, each with one representative. Member states of chief economic importance should have permanent seats being not less than one third of the total, and the Conference should elect the non-permanent members for three-year terms, one-third retiring every year. Three Commissions composed of experts approved by the Executive Board should be concerned with Commercial Policy, Business Practices and Commodity problems. The Industrial and Mineral Unit appointed by the Conference is to promote the expansion of production and trade in fabricated products and in minerals and other primary commodities not under the jurisdiction of the Food and Agriculture Organization. And lastly, the International Trade Organization is to be brought into relationship with the United Nations Organization on terms to be agreed upon.

In conclusion, the proposals on trade and employment, though tentative, point to certain unmistakable trends which deserve to be briefly summed up: There is, in the *first* place, no attempt of any significant character to regulate the international aspects of employment policy; as such the inclusion of the term employment in the very title of the proposals is misleading. Though lip service is paid to the principle that without maintenance of a high

and stable level of employment, there can be no expansion of trade, there is no provision which can even indirectly be regarded as helping trade via employment. If anything, regulation of trade may prevent unemployment to some extent. *Secondly*, to students of modern economics, there would appear to be a striking contrast in the theoretical approach to the International Monetary Fund and the International Trade Organization. The latter is conceived entirely in terms of restriction, the burden of adjustment being thrown entirely on the debtor. There is no doubt that the proposals are all along aimed at preventing unilateral, sudden and discriminatory restrictions, but they only seek to substitute in their place organized restrictions, of an approved variety. Though this procedure will, on the whole, be an improvement on the earlier position, its utility is limited since the causes which might lead to the need for restriction are not effectively tackled. *Thirdly*, in so far as certain tariff restrictions owe their origin *only* to the existence of corresponding restrictions elsewhere, the mutual and simultaneous cancellation of both may be practicable. But, tariffs and other restrictions are not always of this type. In many cases they are a justifiable method of economic development of country. It is the failure to realize this that causes the greatest embarrassment to countries like India which need a vigorous tariff policy at a time when some other countries may have largely exhausted the possibilities of tariff in their economies. The removal of restrictions and preferences has been opposed in the United Kingdom on the ground that it is premature; for the U.K., battered by the war, is unprepared in the immediate post-war period to compete with the United States in world markets. In our case, it is irrelevant to even think of lowering our tariffs because we have such low and few tariff walls that the urgent need is for their reinforcement. So long as the approach to international agreements whether political, monetary or commercial is entirely in the terms of the United States and the United Kingdom, controversies and issues raised at International Conferences are likely to be wholly unreal from the point of view of countries like India. If these two leading commercial countries of the world are unable to look beyond their narrow immediate interests, the commercial agreements of the type contained in these trade proposals are too wide in scope and are not likely to advance the cause of international co-operation. It would be better then to restrict the scope of such arrangements to those points where the national interests of all countries happily coincide. Such points are no doubt very few and such a policy will, therefore, achieve only a little, but the lack of achievement will be a proof of the honest inability of the rich to appreciate the difficulties of the poor and will at least teach the poor the good old virtue of self-reliance.

INDIANS OVERSEAS

THE POSITION IN FIJI

By C. KONDAPI

INTRODUCTORY

THE Fiji Islands, with a total land area of 7,055 sq. miles are scattered over about 95,000 sq. miles of the South Pacific Ocean. With one-third of the area, and more than one-half of the total population of the Pacific British islands, Fiji is Britain's most important island group in the South Pacific. Its strategic importance which was laid by the opening of the Panama Canal will be enhanced when the British plan to co-operate in the American defence scheme in the Pacific will convert it into a major military outpost. Lying across the track of steamers between Australia and North America, it is significantly located in trans-Pacific trade route. The situation here of the headquarters of the British High Commissioner for the Western Pacific gives Fiji political prestige. Suva, the capital, constitutes an important harbour junction of sea routes in south-west Pacific. It is a port of call to both the British-Canadian-Australian, and the American Matson Lines which maintain a four-weekly service north and south across the Pacific. Suva is also an important cable and wireless station, the natural outpost for the defence of Australia and New Zealand as a naval base in the South Pacific.

Of about 250 islands that constitute the Fiji Group two large islands—Viti Levu and Vanua Levu—between them comprise six-sevenths of the land area and contain more than three-fourths of the population of these islands. In 1940, the total population of Fiji was 220,787 consisting of 104,872 Fijians, 98,113 Indians, 5,107 persons of mixed European and native descent, 4,287 Europeans and 8,500 Polynesians, Chinese, Rotumans, etc. The estimated population on 31 December, 1945 was 117,256 Indians and 115,724 Fijians. Except a few, all the Fijians are Christians, mostly Wesleyan Methodists. Regarding the religious composition of Indians, out of a total of 85,002 in 1936, 70,986 were Hindus, 11,290 Muslims, 1,068 Sikhs and 1,665 Christians. Among them are Bengalis, Biharis, Oriyas, Punjabis, Tamils, Malayalees, Telugus, Kanarese and also people of U.P. and C.P. Religious exclusiveness has greatly disappeared and there is surprising co-operation among the different communities, Hindus and Muslims inviting each other to marriages and other social functions.

In 1938 about 16,000 Indians were engaged in agriculture and about 8,500 in various trades and commerce. They own and operate nearly all the small stores throughout the more thickly populated districts of the colony, competing successfully with the Chinese. They enjoy a monopoly in the tailoring and shoe-repairing trades and in jewellery manufacture. They enjoy the largest share in road transport, on the railways of sugar plantations they operate locomotives. A number of Indians are employed as clerks in the Government services and in the offices of European firms.

HISTORY OF INDIAN EMIGRATION

Under the deed of cession formally signed on 10 October, 1874 by the Native Chiefs, Fiji became a British colony. A cotton boom in the island resulted in an increase of European cotton planters. Owing to the unsatisfactory value of Fijian native labour, 8,500 labourers were introduced between 1860 and 1877 from the Solomon and Line Islands and the New Hebrides. This solution of the labour question proved unsatisfactory and the majority of the labourers were repatriated to their homes in 1877. Subsequently sugarcane became a more promising crop and soon replaced cotton. Its production was rapidly established on a firm footing by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company (C.S.R.C.) of Australia with the help largely of Indian immigrant labour.

In 1877, the Agent-General of Immigration, Fiji, was deputed to India by the Colonial Government to secure 'a small but regular supply of labourers'. Next year, as a result of his negotiations, Indian indenture emigration was permitted to Fiji under strict supervision and a guarantee of free passage back to India at the end of 10 years. The Government of Fiji engaged the labourers directly and allotted them to the estates under its supervision. Under this system between 1879 and 1889, 7,135 immigrants were introduced and the first repatriates left Fiji in May 1889. With immigration and children born in the colony, the Indian immigrant population increased from 588 in 1881 to 2,300 in 1883, to 6,370 in 1888, 7,468 in 1891 and to 17,105 in 1901. As owing to the great development of the sugar industry from 1900, Indian immigrants were introduced between 1901 and 1911 at an annual average of 2,084 and repatriated at 482 per annum in 1911, their number had risen to 40,286. Fresh supplies of cheap labour, easily available, enabled the sugar planting interests generally to throw off the services of those whose period of indenture service had expired. Indians too began to leave plantation labour and settle on land of their own as independent farmers cultivating rice, corn, or other crops for which there was enough market to give them a means of livelihood. In addition a few free Indians, mostly Hindus, came from Mauritius, British Guiana and Trinidad and settled on sugarcane land. But the European planters who wanted Indians only as indentured labourers, could not reconcile themselves to Indians settling down as free farmers and citizens. Apart from this hostility to free Indians, the conditions under which the indentured Indians had to work deteriorated and assumed shocking proportions. The gross disproportion in the sex ratio of Indian immigrants and the notorious coolie 'lines' without any privacy to preserve the sanctity of married life drove Indians to moral wreckage. The 'lines' became cells of prostitution and disease. The economic conditions of labour were also depressing. Violent crimes and suicides became a feature of Indian life in Fiji. The abolition of indenture emigration to Natal set the Fiji planters thinking and in 1912 they effected a few important changes; particularly the abolition of the penal clause for labour offences and the reduction in the daily task. The report of the McNeil-Chimanlal Deputation in 1914 failed to satisfy the Indian public who deputed C.F. Andrews and W.W. Pearson in 1915 to make a fresh inquiry. They investigated thoroughly and furnished unimpeachable evidence of the de-

plorable conditions of Indians in Fiji which persuaded Lord Hardinge to liquidate the indenture system by passing the Abolition of Indenture Act in 1916. Though fresh recruitment under indenture was prohibited, the existence of 50,000 Indians under indentures already entered into and the evil effects of the system extending over more than half a century continued to besmirch Indian life. Andrews was again deputed in 1917 for investigation. At his instance Miss Florence Garnham of Australia made an investigation in 1918, especially into the plight of Indian women in Fiji. At the close of the year, the indenture of those who had been brought in as late as 1916 was finally cancelled and the year 1920 began in Fiji with complete freedom for every Indian therein. In 1921 the Indian population had increased to 60,619.

FROM INDENTURED LABOUR TO INDEPENDENT FARMING

When the C.S.R.C. started giving Indian immigrants facilities to take up land and raise sugarcane either on contract or on tenant-farming, Indian establishment in the economic life of the Islands became easier,—particularly with the Company's scheme launched in 1914 for the settlement on ready-made farms of Indians serving the last year under indenture, and for their occupation on the expiry of their indentures. The cessation of the indenture system in 1916 resulted in serious labour difficulties in the C.S.R.C. plantations and mills. In 1916 the Company leased land directly to groups of Indians in hundred-acre lots. The Indian strike in 1920 led to a wholesale establishment of Indians on land as lessees, the Company paying its tenants according to the amount and quality of the sugarcane produced. The Company too now became the sole sugar operative and biggest business concern in the colony with an investment estimated at over £ 3,000,000.

Besides these there are at present several hundreds of Indians who are lessees of holdings directly from native owners. A few others own their land in fee simple. On the whole more than $\frac{2}{3}$ of Indians in Fiji live directly or otherwise on sugar industry. They cultivate a similar proportion of sugarcane produced in the Islands which in 1940 was estimated at about a million tons costing some \$3,500,000.

The farms of Indian lessees of the Company average 10 acres while those leased from the natives vary from $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres to about 12. The lessees of the Company are obliged to cultivate in four sections— $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres each—of planted sugarcane, ratoon crops, Mauritius beans ploughed under for fertilization and young cane plants. They have to obey instructions as to when to plant, plough and weed. The lessees from natives farm as they please. Though no such conformity was obligatory in regard to lands leased from Fijians, the Company in some cases refused to buy sugarcane unless the crop was planted, harvested and fertilized in accordance with the Company's stipulations.

The area of agricultural land operated by Indians was in 1940 some 6,400 acres held under native leases and some 2,500 acres held under Crown leases. In addition to this from 2,000 to 3,000 acres was owned by Indians as freehold. They also occupied some 33,000 acres as cane-growing tenants of the Company and about 5,000 acres as tenants of freeholders. Thus they held a total area

of more than 107,000 acres, great bulk of it being under cultivation.

The future of Indians in Fiji is intertwined with the question of land. 80% of the land in Fiji is held by Fijian owners as tribal land and the remaining 20% as Crown grants or freehold property by the Company. For a long time to come 80% of Indians will have to live by the land. After the prohibition in 1909 of further sales of native lands except to the Government, Indians secured lands through the government under leasehold tenure with the consent of the Fijian land-owners. But actual leasing and assessment of rent have been controlled by Ordinances VII and XIV of 1937. These ordinances were passed in the teeth of Indian opposition. They were an inducement to the Fijian landlords to obtain foreclosures upon Indian settlers even with retrospective effect on the most vexatious terms and without paying any consideration to the improvements effected to the land and its environments by the Indian tenants. The operative effect of Ordinance XIV was to persuade Fijians to refuse renewals of leases to Indians. Both the Native Lands Ordinance and the Native Lands (Occupation) Ordinance of 1938 give preferential treatment to the Company. The power vested in the Governor-in-Council to adjudicate the claims between Indians and Fijians means nothing to Indians as normally the Governor only confirms the orders of the District Magistrates. Thus Indians are denied ownership of land and are compelled to become agricultural labourers of the Company. Leases beyond 21 years are not allowed and Fijians are forbidden to alienate their land to Indians without Government's permission which as a rule is withheld.

Under the Native Lands Trust Ordinance of February 1940, the Government has power to deal with all the native lands in the colony. A certain extent of land was allocated exclusively for the use of Fijians and the remainder was made over on lease to non-Fijians including Indians. The ordinance embodies the conditions of leases but the renewals of these leases proved very difficult.

In June 1943, the sugarcane farmers, who are mostly Indians, demanded a higher price for their cane in view of the increased cost of living due to the war, but the Company refused. Dr. C.Y. Shephard, who was deputed by the Colonial Office in March 1944 to inquire into grievances of the sugarcane farmers, reported in August 1945. He recommended that leases from the Native Land Trust Board should be renewable for 12 years at intervals of 11 years and the Company should similarly extend the period of leases to tenants. In view of the higher net profits of the Company he proposed the addition of the value of molasses to the proceeds of cane in assessing the price of sugarcane. The Company's weighing machines should be checked periodically by the police and payments for cane for each crop should be completed by the succeeding 31 March, over or under-payments being adjusted in the succeeding year.

The Company discourages its tenants from planting vegetables and other food crops on their holdings and insists on sugar planting on the entire farm. The total holdings of the Company in Fiji amounted to some 36,000 acres (in 1940) when sugar formed two-thirds of the value of Fiji's exports. After

sugarcane, rice is the most important crop raised by Indians. There is a home market for this rice among all Indians as it is their staple food. Other crops they raise are maize, cotton, *yanggona*, bananas, tobacco, etc. Many Indians carry on diversified farming in Fiji, raising rice, corn, maize, chillies and curry-stuffs, all of which are their food requirements. Vocational training in agriculture is provided to Fijians, but not to Indians, on the ground that Indians are peasant farmers by heredity. This is a serious mistake which is certain to lead to stagnation in the technical knowledge and practical skill of an important section of the colony's agricultural population.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The effects of sex disproportion of the indenture days are still visible. At first only 25% and later 33% of the Indian immigrants were women. There has been a gradual improvement in the sex proportion, the ratio among Fiji-born Indians being higher with 952 in 1936 while in the case of Indians born elsewhere it was 413. In 1938 there were about 4 females to 5 males. This shows the necessity for emigration on a family basis. Even in 1940, the female Indian population fell short of the male by some 10,000. Bartering of female children continues to darken the Indian social life. There is a steady increase of legal marriages in preference to casual unions. Educated Indian women have formed Indian Women's League and are striving to end the social evils.

Till a few years ago Indian customary marriages were not recognized as valid under the Fijian Law; so they remained invalid under the civil law, leading to a loosening of the marital tie with attendant evils like trafficking in girls. A recent marriage ordinance provides for registration by Indian Marriage Officers and Priests, but as no penalty has been imposed upon unregistered men who perform marriage ceremonies, most of the old evils continue.

In 1917 C. F. Andrews urged on the Company to raise the daily wages of Indian workmen from 1s. to 1s. 3d. In 1919, a Commission appointed by the government recommended 3s. 4d. a day as the minimum wage for Indian labourers, and a government official who made a special study of the wages question placed the minimum living wage at 4s. a day. Yet in 1939, wages ranged only between 2s. 3d. and 2s. 6d. a day, less than that recommended by the Commission of 1919.

The low wages was the main reason for the indebtedness of Indian labour though there was neither the *Kangany* nor the *Maistry* system in Fiji. In 1939, Government evidence was quoted in the Fiji Legislative Council to show that in the 3 districts of Rewa, Nadi and Ba, the extent of Indian land under mortgages rose from 5,446 acres in 1925 to 8,597 acres in 1930 and 10,508 acres in 1936. During the same period the extent of Indian debt rose from £19,969 in 1925 to £48,236 in 1935 and £96,228 in 1936. Estimates were also quoted that the total indebtedness of Indians in all the districts of the colony was in the neighbourhood of £5,000,000, whereas the agricultural income of the entire community in 1937 was estimated to be £600,000. In his book *Fiji: Little India of the Pacific*, 1941, John Wesley Coulter writes: 'One cause of indebtedness is the very low wages paid by the Company to its employees. It is estimated that 90 per

cent of the Company's employees are insolvent.' This indebtedness is more acute among the Indians growing cane on holdings leased from the Government and the Fijians than among the tenants of the Company, for, while the former mortgage their crops to money-lenders, the tenants cannot do so. Another contributory factor for indebtedness is the exorbitant and illegal interest which was being charged by Indian professional money-lenders. The Indian store keepers charge 20% more for goods on credit than for cash purchase. The ordinance for the control of money-lending has proved utterly inadequate. A government agricultural bank with branches spread all over the cane-farming districts is an immediate need.

There is a certain amount of industrial and labour legislation. The Industrial Association Ordinance XVIII of 1941 provides for the formation, registration and regulation of industrial associations. The ordinance makes registration compulsory and extends the right to form associations to peasant farmers who are not employees. The Industrial Disputes (Conciliation and Arbitration) Ordinance XIX of 1941 provides for the investigation and settlement of industrial disputes. In case no machinery for settlement exists in any particular industry in which a dispute arises, the Governor has power to bring the parties together or refer the matter to a Conciliation Board for settlement. But if conciliation methods fail or if the parties so request, the Governor-in-Council may require both the parties to submit their dispute to a Court of Arbitration whose decision will be binding on both the parties. The trade union movement is slowly gaining ground as is obvious from the establishment of the Kisan Sangh (Farmers' Society) and Mazdur Sangh, (Labourers' Society). One of their demands is the right to choose their own foremen or group leaders. The Labour Welfare Ordinance XX of 1941 authorizes the appointment of a Commissioner of Labour to safeguard and promote the general welfare of the workmen in the colony. He is invested with certain powers of entry and inspection necessary to enable him to carry out the duties as prescribed in the ordinance.

The provisions of the Immigration Ordinance of 1938 relating to the security deposits and conditions attached to the issue of landing permits and sojourn of Indians during the first three years of residence are operating as direct prohibition of Indian immigration. One of the ostensible objects of the immigration policy of the Colonial Government is the exclusion of unattached males in the interests of Fiji-born Indians. Married Indians who are accompanied by their wives and dependent children and assured of permanent employment as agriculturists are permitted to enter. Also, Indians who are established in permanent business in Fiji are permitted to bring their wives and minor children from India to join them. The Immigration of males alone is restricted as closely as possible to such skilled workers as are needed to maintain the essential Indian trades in an efficient condition. The Fiji-born Indians who constitute the vanguard in the struggle for social, economic and political justice, advocate closer restriction, if not the actual prohibition, of Indian immigration. They are the Indians who want white-collar jobs in the towns.

At the end of 1937, the Governor appointed an Indian Immigration Commit-

tee of the Fiji Government consisting of the two nominated Indian members of the Fiji Legislative Council, but none of the three elected members, to advise on the Indian immigration question. There is also a Department of Indian Affairs which is assisted by Indian Advisory Committees. But the committees have proved unhelpful as the District Commissioners choose their own favourites. There is also a new class of Indian officials—Indian Assistants to the District Commissioners. The Department has become unpopular by its discriminating support of Indians who advocated greater restriction on Indian immigration.

The education of the colony was in the hands of Christian missionaries till 1918 and since then the Government has shared with them the responsibility for education through its provincial administrations. There is a Board of Education consisting of eight members two of whom are Indians. There has been considerable racial discrimination against Indians in extending educational facilities. In 1935 the total educational expenditure was 29.8% on Europeans who formed 2.41 of the population as against 15.5% on Indians (42.18% of the population). Worse still, Indians were asked to pay 50% of the cost of their education though they constituted the poorest group in the economic hierarchy, while European education was made a first charge on the educational budget of Fiji and the Fiji Government also found 50% of current expenditure on European education from the general revenues.

In 1940 only about 20% of the Indian boys of school-going age and 11% of the girls were in school. At the end of 1941, the number of registered Indian schools was 88 as against a total of 230 European and Fijian schools. There are very few facilities for Secondary, University and vocational education.

There has been great difficulty in regard to the medium of instruction in schools as Indians coming from different provinces speak different languages. But as Hindus predominated and their language was most widely used, Hindustani was made the medium of instruction and in certain cases, the teaching of an additional Indian language was permitted. Accordingly, Hindustani was made compulsory in the first four grades and English optional. Many young Indians throughout the colony speak English.

THE POLITICAL ASPECT

Fiji has an Executive and a Legislative Council of an advisory character. There is also a Council of Chiefs which advises the Governor. Till 1924, 60,000 Indians were represented by one nominated member, but in 1924 they were given two elected members. In 1929 they were accorded 3 communal seats. On 5 November, 1929 an Indian elected member introduced in the Legislative Council a motion demanding common franchise to Indians along with other British subjects resident in the colony. The Europeans have been opposed to a common electoral roll because they would be outnumbered by Indian voters. Indians withdrew from the Council and followed a policy of non-co-operation till 1932. Under the Constitution of 1937 the Legislative Council consists of 16 official members and 15 non-official members, the latter consisting of 3 European elected members and 2 European nominated members,

5 nominated Native members, 5 Indian members—three elected and two nominated. Thus according to 1937 census, 99,595 Fijians, 89,333 Indians and 4,238 Europeans were given each 5 seats which is flaunted as equal representation. Indians have no representation on the Executive Council. The Suva Council consists of 7 official, and 6 non-official members, two each of Indians, Fijians and Europeans.

Indians are dissatisfied with the arrangement wherein the Government physician of the colony acts as the Secretary for Indian Affairs. Indians feel that his duties as Secretary are just a side issue and not receiving adequate attention. Indian contribution to the economic development of the colony is admitted by every one. When Indians claim equality with others, they are not oblivious of the paramountcy of native interests. Their claim is subject to this overriding consideration, but they cannot tolerate a whit less than equality with other immigrant communities like the Europeans.

INDIA AND THE WORLD

PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND COMMITTEES

UNITED NATIONS FOOD CONFERENCE: 20 MAY 1946, WASHINGTON

THIS Conference of experts on food and relief agencies and representatives of 18 Governments was called to work out the strategy of food and plan in advance for all the food battles ahead. India was represented by Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao. Mr. Clinton Anderson, U.S. Secretary for Agriculture and head of the American delegation, was elected Chairman of the Conference. Mr. Herbert Hoover, Truman's Food Envoy, urged the establishment of a World Food Administration in the place of the Combined Food Board. Sir John Boyd Orr, Secretary-General of the F.A.O., also pleaded for a single international organization with resources and authority to deal with the whole anticipated period of food shortage. Dr. Rao warned the conference that Indian stocks in the next few weeks would reach a level causing 'certain fear of universal breakdown'. He drew particular attention to the fact that India was subjected to a heavier cut in her grain allotments in spite of her negligible claim on world's non-cereal food supply. On 20 May, the Conference divided into 3 Committees (a) to inquire into the desirability of recommending to Governments regarding a 4 or 5 year plan designed to carry the world through the present crisis; (b) to study the implications of the factual picture of world food prospects and the methods of maintaining a steady flow of global information on harvest and other developments and (c) to plan a new body to battle against the threat of 1946-47 famine and form a permanent organization to control the world's food supplies.

Dr. Rao demanded that all nations, both importing and exporting, should enforce rationing immediately as the most efficient way of conserving and distributing food in the face of famine threats. Under instructions from the Indian Government, Dr. Rao demanded that India should, not only as a great

food importer but also as a prospectively great food-producing country, be given a seat on the executive committee of the projected international food authority.

On 25 May, the Conference decided to establish a new 20-nation International Emergency Food Council (in the place of the Combined Food Board) to start work immediately in the battle against world famine and continue till the end of 1947 pending the establishment of a permanent organization. The Council will work very closely with U. N. R. R. A. and will have at its disposal the new World Food Intelligence Service established by the F.A.O. The Conference established a set of principles for nations to follow in meeting their own 'targets', thus bridging the gap of the expected ten million tons wheat in 1946-47. Most of the principles urged by the Indian delegate were adopted. The Conference agreed that the flour extraction rate of 58% for bread be made universal, that adulteration of not less than 5% potato flour be used in flour for human consumption, that bread grains be not used to feed livestock and that rationing of bread and curtailment of bread, and curtailment of flour distribution at source be considered. It asked Sir John Boyd Orr to proceed with plans for a permanent world food authority with executive powers to control world scarcities and distribute world surpluses. Along with Britain, U. S. A., Russia and other countries India was invited to join the Council immediately. India was also accorded a seat on the executive committee of the Council. Dr. D.A. Fitzgerald of the U.S. Agriculture Department was selected as Secretary to the Council.

There is a distinct improvement in India's position as a result of her participation in this Conference. Dr. Rao succeeded in securing the inclusion in the agenda of the question of exporting nations' responsibilities to assure actual shipment of the surpluses they had. The conference was persuaded to leave, for discussion by the new body, the question of these responsibilities. India's disappointment with such of the Asian and South American countries which had exportable grain but failed to get it shipped due to hoarding and speculation may not now repeat itself.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCERS: 21

MAY 1946: LONDON

The Conference was called to secure the fullest co-operation between organizations of primary agricultural producers in meeting the optimum nutritional and consumption requirements of the peoples of the world and in improving the economic and social status of all who live by and on the land. It will be complementary to the F.A.O. and will advise it on all agricultural problems. Representatives of 29 nations attended it, those of India being Prof. N.G. Ranga and Sirdar Habibullah Khan.

The Rt. Hon. Tom Williams, British Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries, opened the Conference and Mr. James Turner, President of the British National Farmers Union, was elected Chairman of the Conference. Sir John Boyd Orr warned the conference of the 'very bad' world food position and declared that the world would be faced with another disaster unless measures were taken to

conserve the 1946-47 harvest. During the discussion on the reports on agricultural co-operation, production and marketing, Prof. Ranga declared that it was the duty of the conference to encourage co-operative farming as well as co-operatives for processing, marketing and distribution. He suggested that the Committee's recommendation regarding security of tenure did not go far enough for India. Sirdar Habibullah Khan asserted that more people had died of starvation in India in recent years than were killed by aerial bombardment, both allies and enemies included, during the whole war. He was elected Chairman of the Nutrition Sub-Committee and Prof. Ranga, a member of the Constitution Sub-Committee.

The Conference considered the Report and Recommendations issued after the first meeting of F.A.O. at Quebec last October. On 31 May it decided to establish an International Federation of Agricultural Producers. Mr. James Turner was elected its first President and India was accorded a seat on its Executive Committee. As a result of the views expressed by Prof. Ranga, the Constitution Committee drew the attention of the Conference to the particular problems of the peasant masses of Asia and Africa in order to ensure that, in adopting any policy specially affecting these coloured peasant masses, the Federation should consult, where practicable, representatives of these peoples. Accordingly the conference agreed to encourage the starting of regional organizations to cater to the special needs of the people and accepted the proposal to have three Vice-Presidents for the Federation to ensure the representation of coloured peoples. It also consented to the plea that coloured, especially African tribal, peoples should be assisted to organize themselves into organizations on the basis of the crops they raise like the Kikyu Cocoa Producers Association, and approved the proposal that whenever any resolution of the Federation conflicted with the view of the national organization, the option should be left to the latter whether or not to communicate to the local government, thus avoiding direct approach by the Federation to the local Government over the head of the organization. Lastly it agreed to take into consideration the poverty of Africa and Asia in allocating subscription quotas and consequently India was asked to pay only a nominal subscription of £10. Members were also allowed the right to nominate alternatives or substitutes. The Indian delegation persuaded the delegates to bring pressure on their Governments to send the maximum quantity of food to India and to induce their farmers to make as enthusiastic an attempt as possible to feed Indians.

6TH EMPIRE PRESS CONFERENCE: 3 JUNE 1946: LONDON

Premier Attlee opened the Conference which was sponsored by the Empire Press Union and attended by representatives of nearly a hundred important newspaper executives. The representation was as follows:—U.K. 31, Australia 13, New Zealand 8, South Africa 8, India 5, British West Indies 4, Ceylon, Bermuda, Gibraltar, Malta, Fiji one each. India was represented by T.K. Ghosh (*A. B. Patrika*), S. Sadanand (*Free Press Journal*), Sir Francis Low (*Times of India*) and A. H. Hayles (*Madras Mail*).

Attlee promised British co-operation to India whether she remained within

the Commonwealth or went out of it. Mr. Francis Williams, formerly of the British Ministry of Information, emphasized the important rôle played by the great international news agencies in the freedom of the Press. The Earl of Listowel, Post-Master-General, stated that it was safe to predict that long-distance routes to Empire countries would be speeded up by the use of jet-propelled aircraft. Sir Stanley Reed said that Britain would have no freedom of the Press unless there was reform of the law of libel and that the only way to make the law 'a fair instrument of justice' was an approximation between the law of libel and the law of slander. Giving an analysis of the world newsprint situation, Mr. Sadanand said on 4 June that the allocation of newsprint to India was being made in an arbitrary manner and pleaded for more equitable distribution throughout the countries of the Commonwealth. He also made a strong attack on the system of public Relations Officers who should be regarded at best as a necessary evil. He suggested that the Empire Press Union should establish some form of international secretariat which could deal with Press problems on a wider scale. After referring to the small amount of news from India carried by the London papers, Mr. Hayles made an appeal for a more direct system of communication carrying news throughout the Empire and for a better postal system in India. Mr. Ghosh submitted a strong resolution calling for the widest freedom of the Press in India. He declared: 'It is absolutely true that we hardly enjoy any freedom of the Press in India during any crisis in our country. If there is war or any nationalist movement, all freedom of the Press is taken away by our Government'. On 12 June the Conference discussed draft proposals for a change in the original charter governing the membership and objects of the union. It was suggested that membership should be denied to newspapers that 'are hostile to the continued existence of the British Empire' and that the primary object of the association should be promotion of the Empire solidarity and only secondarily the promotion of the commercial prosperity of its member newspapers. Representing the Indian standpoint, Mr. Sadanand said that in the accepted sense of imperialism, Indian newspapers were anti-British and hence if their political outlook on their country's independence contravened the Union's constitution, they ought to be told so. If that was so, they had joined under a misapprehension, for they were assured that their membership was wanted in an integral organization having a common interest quite apart from politics. Sir Francis Low supported Mr. Sadanand by adding that the latter's views were those of a majority of Indian newspaper members and that the question whether they should remain in the Union might well be determined by the Cabinet negotiations. On 29 July the conference ended with a resolution recommending that the Empire Press Union should resume annual conferences in London and with the acceptance of the Canadian invitation to hold the quinquennial session in 1950 or '51.

MARITIME CONFERENCE: 6 JUNE, 1946: SEATTLE

At this 28th Maritime Session of the International Labour Conference, India was represented by the delegates of the Government of India (Mr. M,

K. Vellodi and Mr. S.R. Zaman) of the Shipowners (Mr. M.A. Master) and of the Seamen (Mr. Aftab Ali) along with their advisers. The Credentials Committee received protests from unidentified unions in India and the Netherlands that the Workers' delegate and advisers from India, and advisers to the Workers' delegate from the Netherlands were not truly representative of maritime workers in these countries. The Indian delegation presented an unseemly spectacle when Mr. A.K. Mohommed, one of the advisers to Mr. Aftab Ali, was ejected from the meeting on the latter's complaint that the former represented a bogus union. The Conference also provided an unfortunate passage-at-arms between Mr. Master and Mr. Charles Jarman, General Secretary of the British National Union of Seamen.

Mr. Vellodi was elected Chairman of the Wages, Hours and Manning Committee and Mr. Dinkar Desai (adviser to the Indian Seamen's delegate) represented the workers' side on the Steering Committee. At the plenary session on 10 June, Mr. Master, referring to the I.L.O. Director's Report, stated that there was absolutely no mention of the aims and aspirations of India and China which between them cover two-thirds of the human population and have a very large maritime trade exceeding 30,000,000 tons. He drew attention to the fact that Indian sea-farers serving on ships under other flags were being denied social benefits and when this matter was raised at the Copenhagen Conference, it was excluded from consideration. Mr. Aftab Ali said that although India had been a member of the I.L.O. since its inception 26 years ago, Indian and Asian workers had received no attention. He welcomed the suggestion of I.L.O. Directors that an exhaustive survey be made of conditions of employment of Chinese and Indian seamen. Mr. Vellodi stated that India had the third largest number of seamen in the world—about 200,000. He declared that the reason for non-ratification of certain I.L.O. Conventions by the Government of India was not their unwillingness to co-operate but the fact that their main features were already in enforcement while the Indian Government was unable to carry out certain minor provisions.

At a meeting of the Social Security Committee, Mr. Desai moved an amendment providing that Indian and other Asian seamen be not excluded from the Social Security Convention because of their employment in foreign ships. Supported by the Chinese, U.S.A. and Canadian delegates, the amendment was carried by 25 votes to 22, the British Government and shipowner delegates opposing it. Mrs. Levine, American Workers' delegate, proposed the inclusion of a provision that seamen, whether resident or non-resident, should be entitled to benefits when left in a foreign port by reason of sickness or injury arising from their employment. The entire Indian delegation favoured the scheme and it was passed, the British Government and shipowners' delegates again opposing it. The conference was of the opinion that in near trade ships the normal hours of work should not be more than 24 hours in 48 hours nor more than 112 hours in two weeks. In distant trade ships an eight-hour day was agreed upon. It also adopted a proposal for an international 112-hour working fortnight for seamen with £16 (approximately Rs. 215) minimum monthly wage. As regards the problem of special conditions required

for employment of Asian people which might be reasonable in application and would not deprive them of employment, the committee devised a partial solution by providing for a joint machinery to fix the manning scale to prevent abuse of excessively arduous work for all on board.

INTERNATIONAL HEALTH CONFERENCE: 19 JUNE: WASHINGTON

The Conference was called to consider the Preparatory Report of the U.N.O. Committee drafted at Paris in March last and to establish a World Health Council to devise ways and means for the improvement of the health of the peoples of the world. Delegates from 50 nations attended it and India was represented by Lt-Col. Lakshmanan and Major Mani. In their opening addresses, the Secretary-General and the Assistant Secretary-General of the U.N.O., and Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, President of the Social and Economic Council, stressed the view that the establishment of a World Health Organization would be one of the first constructive steps of the U.N.O.

U.N.O. SUB-COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN: APRIL 16 : NEW YORK

This Sub-Commission which was established by the Social and Economic Council to recommend the steps necessary 'to raise the status of women to equality with men in all fields of human endeavour' met in New York in the last week of April. As President of the All-India Women's Conference (A. I. W. C.), Mrs. Hansa Mehta represented India.

The Sub-Commission recommended the enforcement of universal suffrage, monogamous family life, and equality of the sexes in political and civil rights, elimination of prostitution, the undertaking of a survey by the U.N.O. of the rights and disabilities of women all over the world and the convening of an international women's conference. Its Report stressed the need of pooling the forces of world women for the maintenance of peace and creating a moral, healthy and prosperous world society and establishing a permanent section in the U.N.O. Secretariat to deal with all information connected with the status of women.

Mrs. Mehta made an impassioned appeal declaring that 'if we are to raise the status of women we must not be afraid to fight the old customs.' She took with her a copy of the Indian Charter of Equal Rights and Duties, which had been drawn up by the A.I.W.C., and as a result of her efforts, most of its ideas and recommendations were incorporated into the Report of the Sub-Commission.

U.N.O. COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS: 29 APRIL: NEW YORK

The first meeting of the Commission was held at New York on 29 April. India was represented on the Commission by Mr. K.C. Neogy. Mrs. Roosevelt was elected Chairman of the Commission which submitted its report to the Social and Economic Council on 28 May urging the grant of an 'International Bill of Rights' and its circulation among the United Nations Governments. The Report also proposed acceptance of the general principle that provisions for basic rights should be included in international pacts, parti-

cularly peace treaties, without waiting for the 'International Bill of Rights' to be drafted.

SECOND SESSION OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The Council met in New York on 25 May to consider the Interim Reports of the various inter-governmental organizations. The Indian delegate was Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar who is also the Chairman of the Council with S. K. Kripalani and M. Ayub as Advisers. In his opening speech Sir A.R. Mudaliar declared that 'the future is not going to be one of gloom'. He envisaged the Council as a world central organization bringing together many specialized agencies in all fields outside politics. The Council took the first steps in regard to its two most urgent tasks, namely, reconstruction of devastated areas and repatriation or resettlement of hundreds of thousands men, women and children driven from their homes by oppression and war and who will still be homeless when U.N.R.R.A. ends next year.

It set up a temporary sub-commission on economic reconstruction of devastated areas with two working teams, one for Europe with a French Chairman, the other for the Far East with a Chinese Chairman. The sub-commission is to find out how a solution of reconstruction problems in the United Nations can be assisted by international action and is to report by the time the General Assembly meets at the beginning of September.

The draft constitution of the International Refugee Organization was adopted. The Council decided that its Transport Commission should establish immediate relationship with the European Central Inland Organization. Resolutions in favour of establishing relations with the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization, examining passport questions and holding a United Nations Tele-communications Conference were passed.

The Council also accepted resolutions establishing a Human Rights Commission, a Social Commission and a Statistical Commission. On human rights it decided that 'pending the adoption of the International Bill of Rights, the general principle shall be accepted that international treaties involving basic human rights, including to the fullest extent practicable treaties of peace, shall conform to the fundamental standards relative to such rights set forth in the Charter.'

Furthermore, the Council passed a resolution on the urgent food problem, authorizing all possible assistance to be given to the Food and Agriculture Organization in carrying out the Washington decisions taken in May. The Council adjourned to meet on 31 August, 1946.

WORLD AVIATION CONVENTION

The first meeting of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization (P.I.C.A.O.) was held at Quebec on 25 May. Sir Frederick Tymms represented India. He declared that India wanted the legitimate interests of 'international carriers' to be protected in the proposed international civil aviation convention. He urged the incorporation of the three following princi-

ples in the convention: (a) no outside interests should be so formidably entrenched as to make it impossible for India or a similar country to start her own air services; (b) there should be no destructive competition by outside interests through the exercise of the right to carry outbound and inbound homeland traffic and (c) States should have the right to name the terminal points of services terminating within their borders. The U.S. delegate moved a resolution urging postponement for another year of any decisive efforts to complete multilateral accord while the Canadian delegate waged a losing battle in his efforts to establish an early agreement on a multilateral convention governing international air transport. Along with Britain, China and France, India supported the U.S. proposal to postpone the final decision until P.I.C.A.O. had held another session of its General Assembly.

EGYPTIAN COTTON MISSION

An Egyptian Cotton Mission led by Mr. Hassan El Mawardi, an official of the Egyptian Ministry of Finance, arrived in India on 3 June, '46 with a fact-finding objective to find out and study on the spot the requirements of the Indian spinners and the kind of competition that the Egyptian staple cotton will encounter here. The mission visited Ahmedabad, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and contacted the cotton traders. They hope to bring about an increased export of cotton to India of nearly 20,000 bales per month. They think that India, which was a medium consumer of Egyptian cotton in the pre-war days, and number two consumer throughout the war, will now top the list as an importer of Egyptian cotton. Their survey is expected to help the Egyptian Government to regulate their cotton production with a view to cater to the particular needs of India.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS (W. F. T. U.)

The Committee met on 17 June in Moscow under Sir Walter Citrine's Chairmanship to consider the unionization of German, Austrian, Japanese and other workers, the question of Franco's Spain, the restoration of the General Confederation in Greece, as well as mutual relations between the World Federation and the United Nations. Delegates representing 68 million trade unionists attended the meeting. India was represented by Mr. S. A. Dange and Mr. Manek Gandhi. Mr. Dange drew the Committee's attention to the serious food situation in India and requested the delegates to bring pressure on their respective governments to render all possible help to India. The Committee decided to ask the United Nations to declare Franco an outlaw and to recognize the Giral Government in exile as the real Government of Spain. In order to press its claims for a stronger voice in the United Nations' counsels it was resolved that the Federation Executive Bureau, consisting of the President, Secretary and six vice-presidents, should resume negotiations with the United Nations. The Committee granted membership to Greek, Burmese, Korean, Belgian Congo, Viet-Nam and Lebanese Labour Federations. It also decided to send a Commission to Japan and Korea and other parts of the

Far East to investigate the prospects of trade unionism.

INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

A meeting of the Council of the International Chamber of Commerce was held at Paris on 21-22 June, 1946. Mr. V. Pandurangaiah, Vice-President of the South Indian Chamber of Commerce, attended the meeting on behalf of India. The Council passed a resolution declaring that the same co-operation as was shown in waging war was needed to tackle the problems of peace. In another resolution the Council urged that a suitable place should be found in world economy for a peaceful and stable Germany and warned the world that restoration of business would be hampered if this was not done. Resolutions were also passed urging steps for the restoration of international transport and communications and emphasizing the needs of transition phase of world commerce.

DELEGATIONS AND MISSIONS

INDIAN NEWSPRINT DELEGATION

THE Delegation which consisted of Mr. Devadas Gandhi (Managing Editor, *Hindustan Times*, Delhi) and Mr. Ramnath Goenka (Managing Editor, *Indian Express*, Madras) with Mr. Derek Currie, Director of Newsprint, Government of India, as Adviser left India in May on a tour of U.S.A., Canada and Europe in search of newsprint to meet the threatened shortage in India. As a result of its negotiations, the Canadian newsprint industry agreed to give India 20,500 short tons of newsprint this year. Norway and Sweden agreed to give India the same amount of tonnage as before the war, while Norway, owing to its present production below 1939 level, promised to supply a limited quantity. President Truman in U.S.A. and President Parasikivi in Finland received the delegation.*

INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS OF INDIA

INDO-U.S. AGREEMENT ON LEND-LEASE

THE following is the full text of the statement issued by the representatives of the Government of India and the U.S.A., who signed on 16 May, 1946, an agreement representing an over-all settlement of Lend-Lease, Reciprocal Aid and surplus property questions between the two countries. The agreement was signed on behalf of the Government of India by the Hon'ble Mr. A. A. Waugh, Member for Industries and Supplies, and on behalf of the U.S.A. by Mr. Dean Acheson, acting Secretary of State.

The agreement with India is a comprehensive and a final settlement for Lend-Lease, Reciprocal Aid and surplus war property located in India and for financial claims of each Government against the other arising as a result of World War II. India served as a supply base for the South-East Asia Command during the war and while a great volume of Lend-Lease supplies were shipped

*See also chronicle of Important Events under India, Britain, and International Events.

2 May --India at Technical Meeting on radio aids to marine navigation.

15 June --Siamese Missions to India for the purchase of locomotives etc.

8 April--Indian Delegation to the final meeting of the League of Nations.

to India, the larger parts were for the use of the British Government in India and in South East Asia. India supplied reciprocal aid liberally to the U.S.A., both in the form of supplies and services to the U.S.A. Armed Forces in India and in raw material shipped to U.S.A. for war production. In view of approximate equal benefits received by the U.S.A. and India from this interchange of mutual aid, which aggregated over a million dollars in value, it was agreed that no dollar payments would be required in settlement between the two Governments, and all obligations arising out of Lend-Lease and Reverse Lend-Lease were balanced against each other and cancelled, except for the pre-existing agreement under which India will return to the U.S.A. the silver received during the war.

It is implied in the agreement that the U.S.A. has received full title to all articles received from India during the war under reverse Lend-Lease and the remaining in inventory. India has agreed to cancel the outstanding obligation of the U.S.A. to pay about 45 million dollars in cash for supplies delivered to the U.S.A. armed forces in India after V-J Day. The agreement on that provides that India receives full title to all articles in civilian Lend-Lease inventory as on V-J Day and to a relatively small quantity of articles which were in Lend-Lease pipe line for delivery after V-J Day. Articles in Indian Military Lend-Lease inventory, which were acquired by the Indian Forces when serving with the British Army, are retained by India, subject to a right of re-capture by the U.S.A.

The U.S.A., however, has stated that it does not intend to exercise generally such right of re-capture with regard to these articles or to other articles of gold delivered to the Indian Army by the British Forces in India.

The agreement replaces previous papers relating to the disposal of the U.S.A. Army and Navy surpluses in India. Title to all unsold U.S.A. surpluses passes to India and India agrees to dispose of them on an equal basis with war surpluses of Indian and United Kingdom origin.

As a part of the over-all settlement, the U.S.A. will receive one-half of all proceeds in excess of 50 million dollars realized from such disposals. The U.S.A.'s share of such proceeds will be available for acquisition of any real estate and buildings for U.S.A. Government agencies in India and for cultural and educational purposes of mutual benefit to the U.S.A. and India. In the disposal of U.S.A. surpluses by the Government of India, U.S.A. veterans, Governments agencies, businesses and the UNRRA will be accorded priorities such as are accorded to other buyers in India of like character.

Bulk disposal of U.S.A. surpluses to India has greatly speeded the final evacuation of the U.S.A. troops from India. It will also result in an increase in substantial savings to the U.S.A. by the elimination of operating costs of the U.S.A. Army in India at least a year earlier than would have been the case if U.S.A. had itself handled actual sales.

This settlement is especially significant because it is the first formal agreement between India and the U.S.A. and its harmonious completion is an auspicious opening for relations between the U.S.A. and India now on the verge of inde-

pendence. Successful conclusion of these negotiations augurs well for the future of relations between the U.S.A. and India.

REPRESENTATIVES OF INDIA IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

I. *Agents-General to the Government of India.*

- 1 The Hon. Sir G. S. Bajpai, K. C. I. E., C. S. I., Agent-General for India in U. S. A.,
Washington.
- 2 The Hon. Mr. K. P. S. Menon, C. I. E., I. C. S., Agent-General for India in China,
Chungking.

II. *High Commissioners.*

- 1 Sir Samuel E. Runganadhan, Kt., M. A., High Commissioner for India, Aldwych,
London, W. C. 2.
- 2 Dr. Sir Raghunath P. Paranjpye, Kt., M.A. (Cantab), B. Sc. (Bombay), D. Sc. (Hons.)
—Calcutta. High Commissioner for India in the Commonwealth of Australia, *Canberra.*
- 3 R. M. Deshmukh, Esq., Bar-at-Law, High Commissioner for India in the Union of
South Africa, *Johannesburg.*

III. *Trade Commissioners.*

- 1 Sir David Meek, C. I. E., O. B. E., Indian Govt. Trade Commissioner, India House,
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- 2 S. K. Kripalani, Esq., C. I. E., I. C. S., Indian Government Trade Commissioner,
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- 4 M. R. Ahuja, Esq., B. Sc. Indian Govt. Trade Commissioner, Royal Bank Build-
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- 5 R. R. Saksena, Esq., M. A., LL. B., Indian Govt. Trade Commissioner, Prudential
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- 8(Vacant)
- Indian Trade Agent, No. 12 Guzar i, Shahre Nau, *Kabul, Afghanistan.*
- 9 Major M. Hassan, Indian Govt. Trade Commissioner, c/o The British Embassy,
Tebzan, Persia.

IV. *Representatives of the Government of India abroad.*

- 1 M. S. Aney, Esq. Representative of the Govt. of India in Ceylon, *Columbo.*
- 2 M. R. Mathew Agent of the Government of India in Ceylon, *Kandy.*
- 3Representative of the Govt. of India in Burma, *Rangoon.*
- 4 S. K. Chettur, Esq., I. C. S., Representative of the Govt. of India in Malaya, *Singapore.*

REPRESENTATIVES IN INDIA FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES

- 1 Lt.-Genl. Sir Iven Mackay, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.S.O., V.D., High Commissioner
for Australia in India, 7 Metcalfe Road, *Delhi.*
- 2 M. W. H. de Silva Esq., Representative of the Ceylon Govt. in India.
- 3 C. E. Sayers, Esq., Director-General, Far Eastern Bureau, Malhotra Building, Queens-
way, *New Delhi.*
- 4 Monsieur A. M. L. Winkelman, Consul-General for the Netherlands at Calcutta,
'Beverley', *Simla.*

- 5 P. Gladyshev, Esq., Representative, Tass News Agency, *Delhi*.
- 6 Mons. Christian Fouchet, Consul-General for France, *Calcutta*.
- 7 Mons. Brunel, Director, French Information Bureau, Connaught Circus, *New Delhi*.
- 8 The Honourable George R. Merrell, Commissioner of the U. S. A. to India, *New Delhi*.
- 9 S. H. Sih, Esq., Secretary-in-Charge, Office of the Commissioner of China to India, *New Delhi*.
- 10 Mons. Muhamamad Shafi Khan, Consul-General for Afghanistan in India, *New Delhi*.
- 11 Mons. M. Goosse, Consul-General for Belgium, *Bombay*.
- 12 B. Matthews, Esq., Consul-General for Bolivia, *Calcutta*.
- 13 Senhor Jaime N. Heredia, Vice-Consul in charge of the Consulate for Brazil, *Bombay*.
- 14 C. P. Chen, Esq., Consul-General for China, *Calcutta*.
- 15 Senor Alfonso Tavera G., Consul-General for Colombia, *Madras*.
- 16 Mons. W.F. Pais, Consul for Cuba, *Bombay*.
- 17 Mons. Ladislav Urban, Consul for Czechoslovakia, *Bombay*.
- 18 Mons. B. A. Thorstenson, Consul for Denmark, *Bombay*.
- 19 R.N.Roy, Esq., Consul for Dominican Republic, *Calcutta*.
- 20 L. W. Balcombe, Esq., Consul for Ecuador, *Calcutta*.
- 21 Mons. Mohammed Abdul Monein, Consul-General for Egypt, *Bombay*.
- 22 M. Presvelos, Esq., Consul-General for Greece, *Calcutta*.
- 23 Mons. E. de Braganca, Consul for Hayti, *Calcutta*.
- 24 Mons. Ali Motamedy, Consul-General for Iran in India, *New Delhi*.
- 25 Mons. A. J. Bakr, Counsul-in-Charge of the Consulate-General for Iraq, *Bombay*.
- 26 Mons. R. C. L. Van Damme, Acting Vice-Consul for Luxemburg, *Bombay*.
- 27 Prakhyaat Trishakti Patta Pravala Gorkha Dakshina Bahu Colonel Daman Shamshere Jung Bahadur Rana, C. B. E., Consul-General for Nepal, *New Delhi*.
- 28 C. W. H. P. Waud, Esq., Acting Consul for Nicaragua, *Bombay*.
- 29 Mons. Terje Kundtson, Consul-General for Norway, *Bombay*.
- 30 Senhor A. P. J. Fernades, Vice-Consul in Charge of the Consulate-General for Portugal, *Bombay*.
- 31 Senor Don Gonzalo Sebastian de Erice Y. O'Shea, Consul for Spain, *Bombay*.
- 32 Mons. H. H. Anli, Consul-in-Charge of the Consulate-General for Turkey, *Bombay*.
- 33 Myrl S. Myres, Esq., Consul-General for the U. S. A., *Calcutta*.
- 34 Mons. Magnus Hellenborg, Consul-General for Sweden, *Bombay*.
- 35 Mons. A. Sondergger, Consul-General for Switzerland, *Bombay*.
- 36 Lee Chin, Esq., Consul for China, *Bombay*.

NOTES AND MEMORANDA

REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS—THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA

By SIR V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI

At the San Francisco Conference, much time was devoted to the problem of 'integrating regional arrangements and agencies with the establishment of a universal security organization.' The United States and the Latin American Republics took a leading part in these discussions. The Inter-American Conference that met in Mexico City in February and March 1945 had developed, what had been up till then a policy of self-defence against non-American Powers, into a policy of collective defence for the duration of the war against aggression by any State, within the Continent or outside it. The Republics were anxious

that this new conception should become a permanent factor in Inter-American relations and that it should form an integral part of the world arrangements under the Charter. Similarly the Arab States felt that the purposes and functions of their newly established League should be recognized under the Charter. Interest in regional arrangements was also shown by Australia and Belgium. As a result of the discussions that took place, Chapter VIII of the Charter (articles 52 to 54) assigns a distinct place to regional arrangements in the general scheme of world security. Regional agencies or arrangements are a recognized means for bringing about pacific settlement of local disputes and for enforcement action under the control of the Security Council. Though military security was the main objective of such regional arrangements, the desirability of co-operation for economic and cultural purposes through such agencies was also emphasized during the San Francisco discussions.

2. The idea of a regional arrangement for the countries in the Indian Ocean area—stretching from the Persian Gulf to Singapore and including possibly the Netherlands East Indies, has often been discussed. For more than a century peace in this region was maintained undisturbed as British sea power was unchallenged during all this period. The Second World War brought into prominence the importance of the Indian Ocean area for world security. It also showed its strategic value in relation to the defence of India. The facts are now fresh in our minds and need not be stated here. The establishment of the South East Asia Command brought out how essential for the ultimate victory of the Allies were strategic plans and integrated measures of defence covering the whole of this area as a unit.

3. A regional arrangement for this area will thus serve as an important, indeed vital, link in world security arrangements. It is, however, not possible at present to lay down definitely the composition of such a regional council as far-reaching political changes are taking place in the countries comprised in this region. In India a Cabinet Mission is at present engaged in devising a scheme for transfer of power to Indian hands and eventually a treaty will be entered into between Britain and India on matters arising out of such transfer. In Burma and Ceylon, again, new Constitutions are under discussion. Proposals for the formation of a Malayan Union have been formulated and no final scheme has yet emerged. Lastly, in the Netherlands East Indies negotiations are in progress between the Dutch Government and the nationalist leaders for the establishment of relations on a new basis. There should be a two-fold aim:—firstly, the fullest satisfaction of national aspirations in these territories and the bringing into existence of new democratic Governments entitled to speak in the name of the people; secondly, the setting-up of a common machinery for dealing with security and other problems in which the area as a whole is interested. These two aims do not appear to be incompatible. What is needed is, as soon as new Governments are set up in the countries concerned, to constitute a sort of Defence Council in which representatives of all Powers interested will sit as equals and devise common security schemes and share in the responsibility for executing them. What the countries concerned are, can only be tentatively indicated. India, Ceylon, Burma and Malaya

—with their new position defined will certainly be on the Council. England's interests are also easily understood. Apart from the rôle assigned to her by treaties or arrangements reached with the above countries, there is her interest in the sea and air routes to Australia and her position in the Middle East and the Pacific. Australia may be willing to join for the reason above indicated. Iraq and Iran may also agree to come into such an organization. About Netherlands East Indies nothing definite can be said till agreement is reached with Holland.

4. Such a regional arrangement is also essential for economic purposes. A complementary organization to the Defence Council suggested above would be an Economic Council, comprising representatives of the Governments concerned. The Indian Ocean area (excluding Iraq and Iran) forms a portion of the 'monsoon' area which is the subject of a brilliant study by Professor V.D. Wickizer and Professor M.K. Bennett (of the Food Research Institute of the Stanford University). The main characteristics of this area are:—its rice economy, its mineral wealth, and the extremely low standard of living of the bulk of its people, lower than anywhere else in the world except perhaps in parts of China and Africa. A permanent Economic Council such as the one suggested can promote common effort not only in the immediate tasks of reconstruction and repairing of war damages but also in permanent measures for raising standards of living by intensive improvements in agriculture, including the evolution of a more diversified economy; the working of the mineral wealth in the interests of the people of the countries concerned, and the building up of suitable large-scale industries.

5. There is also the need for cultural co-operation among the countries. The civilizations in this area possess common origins and have acted and interacted on one another and the study and spread of knowledge of them will promote good understanding and a sense of unity.

6. The above sets out, in broad outline, the kind of regional co-operation that appears to be indicated for the Indian Ocean area. A definite scheme cannot be prepared until the political problems now under active discussion have been settled, and the object of this paper is not to suggest any such scheme but merely to draw attention to the importance of the subject.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S.S.R. THE STORY OF SOVIET RUSSIA. By Walter Duranty.
1945 (Bombay: Thacker & Co, Rs. 11/8)

There is no parallel in history to the consistent misrepresentation by other countries of the acts and policies of Soviet Russia during the first quarter-century of its existence. This is true as regards the past, and the future appears to hold out no promise of a better state of things. Those who believe in Russia seem to be as far from objective truth as those who wilfully distort facts. A sympathetic and straightforward account of Russian history during the last

twenty five years like the work before us will be rejected by the orthodox communist as journalistic, and by those whose main interest is socialism as ignoring or evading problems and issues of fundamental importance. We shall never agree about Russia.

But *U.S.S.R.* is a good story extremely well told. It is as free from dialectics as it is from prejudice and its commonsense point of view is most refreshing. Duranty's assertion that the Russian Revolution was Marxist simply because Lenin was a Marxist is a convincing if unorthodox and unintellectual explanation. 'Russia, even Soviet Russia was and is, really and fundamentally, more individualist than socialist, more nationalist than internationalist' is another statement that seems to be more in keeping with facts than dialectical expositions of Russian policy. Duranty's account of the 'Man-made Famine' and disorders of 1932-33 is the most convincing I have come across and he is one of the few people who have been able to understand and excuse the ruthlessness and violence of the Great Purge.

U.S.S.R. does not claim to be a study of Russia from an ideological or scientific standpoint, and the author has not concerned himself with principles and statistics. He does not discuss the extent or significance of social changes that have taken place since the Revolution, the appearance of class distinctions, the fall of the common man in industry and agriculture, the resurgence of religion and the church, the revival of the family and its effects on women and their function in society, and the new system of education. But in spite of this *U.S.S.R.* will make the reader more confident of having learnt something than many books written to prove a case for or against the Russian people.

15 June, 1946

M. MUJEEB

FRANCE AND BRITAIN. A report by a group of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. 1946 (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs).

This book is a summary of the conclusions reached by a group of English experts, invited by the Council of the Royal Institute of International Affairs to discuss the problems of post-war Anglo-French relations. This investigation does not claim to indicate any definite political line to be followed. It attempts to present the various alternatives opened to a close co-operation between France and Great Britain.

The only definite conclusions reached are those dealing with the necessity of this co-operation in every field of politics and economy, and with an ever greater understanding between the two countries. This accounts for the last chapter which stresses the importance of closer intellectual and cultural relations. This research, carried with a realism which attaches more importance to concrete solutions than to ideological problems, which in any case are usually a cause of disagreement, deals mostly with political problems, specially viewed in the light of the relations of Britain with the Continent.

The two World Wars have involved England in European politics more

deeply than ever. Her alliance with the U.S.S.R., and the Franco-British co-operation now in prospect would lay upon her commitments still wider and the importance of France as a bridgehead for any intervention of Britain on the Continent appears still greater. Yet, it will be necessary to reconcile the two conceptions of international security—that of France, more restricted, mostly resting upon territorial occupations and regional alliances—that of the U.K., more adaptable, more indefinite, preferring a wide system of international security to precise commitments.

The book, which was begun in 1944 and completed before VE Day, tries to find how Anglo-French co-operation can fit, on the one hand into the general homework of British policy, and on the other hand into the system of international security, which does not in any way prevent regional arrangements. The chief commitment of England in Europe is the Anglo-Soviet Alliance. This must have, as a counterpart, the establishment of a western sector of security, the form of which may or may not be a 'Western bloc.' Anyhow, France must be satisfied on three main issues : (a) no intervention from Britain in French international affairs : (b) recognition of France's equality with the other great Powers : (c) full recognition by Britain of her responsibilities as a European Power, specially in the contribution of manpower. On the other hand, France must give 'a more sympathetic understanding than she has hitherto shown of the special characteristics of British policy which results from (her) position as an oceanic Power and as the centre of the Commonwealth.' Britain also can expect from France a more stable policy and an expansion of her industry.

So France and Britain will be able to fulfil their rôle as representatives of Europe at the councils of the Great Powers.

This book appears to us as a very valuable contribution to the problem of Franco-British relations. The general trend of thought which is indicated remains valid after two years of peace-time political life of Europe, and no one interested in the development of Franco-British collaboration can afford to ignore it.

5 April, 1946

J. M.

INDIA AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICIES. By The All-India Manufacturers' Organization. 1944 (Bombay: Rs. 2/8)

The book under review is a statement prepared by the All-India Manufacturers' Organization on the agenda of the International Business Conference held in November 1944. It is divided into nine sections corresponding to the items on the agenda, viz., Maintenance of Private Enterprise; Commercial Policy; International Currency Relations; International Investments; Industrialization of New Areas; Shipping Policy; Aviation Policy; World Supplies of Materials and Cartels.

The book has undoubtedly achieved its main object of indicating the general principles on which a free and progressive India would like to order its economic relations with other countries. In doing so, the authors have

pointed out in clear and bold language, the grave injustice that was done to India in the past, and also pointed out the dangers that still lie ahead of it. In particular, a correct emphasis has been laid on the necessity for India's fiscal autonomy and the need for protecting India against the inroads of foreign investments on the ground that 'there must be no hostile interests within the country to distort or deflect India's policy.' The essentials of a sound currency policy for India are briefly but effectively brought out and the need for severing the sterling link expressed in sober and convincing style. On questions like shipping and aviation policy, the claims put forward on behalf of India are, in principle, unexceptionable. The authors reveal a natural apprehension that the clause in the Atlantic Charter relating to equal access to raw materials may be so interpreted as to retard the economic development of backward countries like India. A few practical suggestions have been made as a contribution to the solution of the problem of the repayment of India's sterling balances. The general trend of the conclusions regarding the basic principles of international economic co-operation is sound and the changes in policy suggested are fair and balanced.

The only weak part of the publication is Section I where an attempt is made to defend the system of private enterprise by statements such as: 'The institution of Private Enterprise is as old as man himself, or 'the achievements of man right from the earliest days until now are chronicles of the successful working of the system of private enterprise'. One has only to look to similar publications of representative commercial bodies abroad to realize how crude is the defence put up here. It is not unlikely that a reader may get so disgusted with the evidently propagandist character of this section that he might be prejudiced against the later parts of the book. But, in assessing the international aspects of economic co-operation, the report is marked by independence and vigour; and the anxiety for the national development of India is a shade greater than their willingness to co-operate in international relations. As a report by businessmen who have, after all, only certain general things to say, in a style which should be popular, the book must be pronounced a success. It need hardly be emphasized that the implications of several of these general principles still remain to be worked out.

The style of the book, however, leaves much to be desired. There is too much of repetition and rhetoric. The use of adjectives is undoubtedly generous and there are far too many vague generalities, even considering that the book is really meant for the average uninstructed reader rather than for the International Business Conference.

15 June, 1945

N. S. PARDASANI

WORLD WAR : ITS CAUSE AND CURE. By Lionel Curtis. 1945.
(London: Milford, 7s. 6d.)

The author believes, with many others, that war is really due to the anarchy which governs the relations between national States: and he concludes, naturally, that only an international authority to whom all the States have surren-

dered their sovereignty can ultimately save the world from war. But he feels that most nations are not yet prepared for such a sacrifice. His appeal is therefore addressed to the British Commonwealth which, he feels, should set an example by creating a federal government to solve the problems of its own defence.

The distinctive features of his plan are: (i) that the government thus formed should confine itself solely to calculating the cost of an adequate defence for the British Commonwealth, and to organizing such a defence; (ii) that the members of the new government should be elected not by the legislatures but by the people of the Commonwealth; (iii) that the burden of defence should be distributed according to the taxable capacity of each of the nations of the Commonwealth. Here India presents the only snag. If representation on the new government is to be based on population, India would occupy more than three-quarters of the seats, a calamity the author feels, naturally, must be avoided at all costs. If, however, taxable capacity were the main consideration, India, being so poor, present no difficulty. Anyway, he states explicitly that India's position can be given serious consideration only when her people have acquired 'the art of governing themselves'; and (iv) the capital of the new government should be Quebec in Canada. Great Britain, he feels, is not sufficiently invulnerable and has not enough space for training mechanized forces in a proper way. Besides, the U.S.A. will be, he thinks, tempted to join in sooner if the capital is situated on its own continent.

The author is optimistic enough to believe that a federation of the British Commonwealth of nations, cannot but make for greater good and righteousness in this world. Apposite quotations from the Bible are introduced at various stages. But can we be blamed for raising doubts? Supposing the British Commonwealth uses its armed forces against recalcitrant colonies? Would not that also be a righteous cause from its point of view? The problem of the subject colonies and their future is not given any consideration.

The author claims that this federation even if it stays a federation of the British Commonwealth of nations will succeed in averting a war in the next two generations at least. But will it? A powerful alliance of free peoples has just succeeded in winning a world war, but only at the cost of much bloodshed and suffering. No doubt an actual federation of potential allies would result in their being much better prepared for war, more assured perhaps of victory. But if it is confronted by a federation of potential enemies, also better prepared, what then?

But Mr. Curtis himself points out that the ultimate success of his federation, however, would depend on its not remaining a federation of the British Commonwealth of Nations alone. We may doubt whether its immediate success does not also depend upon this. But his is a sincere attempt at making a practicable beginning; and it may yet happen that (if such a federation does indeed come into being) the rest of the world may indeed be tempted to join in before it is too late for all concerned. Mr. Curtis has not given us his opinion of what the Russian position is, though a war in Central Europe may not be

avoided if Russian co-operation is not in some way secured as soon as possible.

31 December, 1945

(MRS.) SARASWATI KRISHNA RAO

PLACE OF INDIA IN WORLD TRADE AND SHIPPING. By S. N. Haji. 1946 (Bombay: The All-India Manufacturer's Organization, Rs. 2/8).

NATAL'S INDIAN PROBLEM. By Mabel Palmer. 1946. (Johannesburg: Society of the Friends of Africa S.I.)

A concise but striking and sympathetic analysis of the historical circumstances which engendered the Indian problem in Natal. It is a challenge to Smuts' political philosophy and his Indian policy.

In the Depths of Soviet Russia. 1945 (Aundh: Indo-Polish Library, Re. 1/12)

FOREIGN BOOKS ON INDIA

FASCIST INDIA. By Patrick Lacey. 1946 (London: Messrs. Nicholson & Watson, 7s. 6d.)

Patrick Lacey's *Fascist India* is a plea for Pakistan, (to consist of the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, the North-Western Frontier Province and Kashmir) buttressed by one-sided and propagandist writing, anti-Congress in tone. The average English reader who has never been in India may be impressed, even if he is not convinced, by the mass of data which he has flung into his preliminary chapters—all designed to insinuate that the Congress party is fascist in structure, policy and outlook. The author's heavy bias in favour of the Muslim League would be obvious to anyone acquainted with the essential features of the Indian situation. But Lacey has an advantage in writing primarily for an audience which is benevolent and well-meaning but ignorant. He was in India for eight years before the war on the staff of *The Statesman*; he visited Kashmir during the troublous days of the early thirties; and he has met some of India's leaders, though with few he seems to have had any serious discussions. Therefore he can mention names of persons and places by the score which can convey nothing to the bewildered English reader—beyond that Lacey must be a remarkably informed man. Everything said against the Congress party and however gathered is, of course, true for Lacey. Why, on one occasion, a Hindu lad of eighteen confessed to him that he hated the Muslim even more than the British. The Bengal terrorist movement finds a place in Lacey's picture of India; the Kashmir troubles, to prove that Muslims can never be happy under Hindu rule and the Congress leaders (barring Jawaharlal Nehru) are not interested in the welfare of the peoples of the States; and the periodical outbursts in Waziristan. Lacey has read Coupland's volumes on India, and Beverley Nichols' *Verdict on India*, wholly different in matter and manner (as he describes it half-commendingly), and doubtless he kept notes and documents collected during his years in India, including reports by the Muslim League on the Congress Ministries' records in the provinces under their control from 1937-39. All this has been utilized

for building up a case, with an utter disregard for sequence of events and fair argument, for freeing 'Pakistan from Hindu domination.' An ill-conceived book in every sense of the term.

19 July, 1946

B. SHIVA RAO

HERE IS INDIA. By Jean Kennedy. 1945 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, \$2.75).

OTHER BOOKS

THE STRUGGLE OF MODERN MAN. By F. G. Pearce. 1945 (Bombay : Milford, Re. 1/4)

This is a sketch of world history from 1450 to the present day written, in the words of the author, 'in simple straightforward language' for use in pre-Matriculation classes to form a background for the study of the social sciences in the high school stage and beyond the usual difficulties in the writing of such books are the selection of the right sort of material from a vast and complicated mass and putting it to proper use through good English. The author has succeeded in overcoming both these difficulties. In fact the book can be safely recommended for use as a text-book for the Matriculation classes. Its eighty illustrations are intended to impart a realistic touch to the lessons; and a large number of key questions and exercises are so framed as to stimulate thought. The value of the book is enhanced by the fact that it is written from the stand point of Indian students and is interspersed with comparisons from familiar Indian life and history. Such books on world history are rare. I only wish that the author could say more about the part played by India in the progress of mankind.

The work has another merit. There is one thread which runs throughout focussing attention on one theme: the struggle of man towards the goal of civilization. The author draws a valuable lesson for young minds at the end; the inevitable growth of civilization in spite of temporary pitfalls.

27 December, 1945

AMBA PRASAD

FEATHERS & STONES: By Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, 1946 (Bombay : Padma Publications, Rs. 7/8).

This is one of the books that has come out of the hill fortress at Ahmednagar, where for 32 months, the country's foremost statesmen and some of its best minds remained confined. It is an instance of mind's triumph over its environments. The opening in the walls—when they were unbarred—afforded a drab view. But the study windows—which is the second name of the book—has a stained glass quality of good-natured humour, brilliant wit and catholicity of outlook and a varied picture gallery, anecdotes from a richly-lived life, choice gleanings from daily conversation and reading. The author calls it a book of humour, wit and wisdom. In parts it is a twentieth-century Birbalnama. (Birbal, we are told, was also an Andhra)... Parts are occupied

with delightful nature studies of flowers and birds, animals and men and with diverse lores, customs, manners, foods and dresses, language and culture, that make up India in time and space. But mainly the book is a jail diary and throws interesting side-light on the personality and life of the august prisoners, with some glimpses of the raging sea at the outer walls—the sea of war and revolution, suffering and heroism. A less modest name for the book would be 'Winged Jewels,' to express its light, brilliant and profound character.

G. C. SONDHI

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION: *By* Sir B. L. Mitter, 21pp., Padma Publications, Bombay, 1945. Price Re. 1.

A brief and clear outline of the present Indian Constitution by a master of the subject. As an introduction to the study of the constitution for the layman this could not be bettered.

16 April, 1946

N. SRINIVASAN

PRICE CONTROL AND RATIONING: *By* R.N. Bhargava, M. A. Lecturer in Economics, Allahabad University. Kitabistan, Allahabad. Rs 4/8.

The book deals at some length with the theory of rationing as well as its actual application in India so far, but does not contain very much on Price Control. It is useful for all those concerned with rationing.

The appendices contain some interesting data. One may, however, inform the author as well as the readers that there is no Travancore City in Travancore State. The capital is called Trivandrum.

The book is priced a bit high.

12 April, 1946

NAMBIAR

WAR AND THE MIDDLE CLASS: AN INQUIRY INTO THE EFFECTS OF WAR-TIME INFLATION ON MIDDLE CLASS FAMILIES IN BOMBAY CITY: *By* J. J. Anjaria, D. T. Lakdawala and S. A. Pandit. 1946 (Bombay: Padma Publications, Re. 1/4).

TRANSPORT: *By* F. P. Antia. 1946 (Bombay: Oxford University Press, As. 6).

A scholarly presentation of the existing transport position in India in regard to railways, road transport, coastal and inland shipping transport and civil aviation, their finance, administration and lines of future development and co-ordination.

FAZL-I-HUSAIN. *By* Azim Husain. 1946 (London: Longmans, Green & Co., Rs. 15/-)

An authentic biography of a remarkable political personality in the modern Punjab. It is objective, fair and courageous.

ARCHITECTURE. By Claude Batley. 1946 (Madras: Oxford University Press, As. 6).

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE 1942-45. By Wilford Cantwell Smith. 1945 (Lahore: Minerva Book Shop, Rs. 2/-).

An instructive analysis of the socio-economic background of the Muslim League during 1942-45, its organizational development in the legislatures of the Muslim provinces and their effect on League's role in All-India politics *vis-a-vis* the Congress and the British Government. It is a call for Congress-League unity.

RUSSIA'S SECRET WEAPON. By Dyson Carter. 1946 (Bombay: Avanti Prakashan, Rs. 2/-)

An informative account of the progress and achievement of science in Russia as a living force harnessed to the advancement of humanity by the utilization of the forces of nature in industrial, agricultural and other spheres.

SELECTIONS FROM THE DECCAN COMMISSIONER'S FILES (PESHTWA DAFTAR) PERIOD OF TRANSITION (1818-1826). By R. D. Choksey. 1945 (Poona: Rs. 6/-)

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BOMBAY, DECCAN AND KARNATAK (1818-1868). By R. D. Choksey. 1945 (Poona: Rs. 8/-).

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND INDIANS OVERSEAS. By B. K. Dadachanji. 1946 (Bombay: Hamara Hindostan Publications. Re. 1/-).

An account of the interest always evinced by the Congress in Indian nationals abroad.

AMONG INDIAN SEAMEN IN GREAT BRITAIN. By Dinkar Desai. 1946 (Bombay: Servants of India Society.)

THE HOUR OF DECISION: THE TASK BEFORE THE BRITISH CABINET MISSION. By Principal Gurmukh Nihal Singh. 1946 (Delhi: Chand & Co. Re. 1.).

An informed analysis of the present political situation and its historical background during the last 100 years and a lucid exposition of the fundamentals of the future constitutional structure for India. A patriotic attack on communalism, it is a call for robust nationalism and achievement of the ideal of a genuine Indian federation.

THE INDIAN LEAVE BOOK. By Gwen Hall, Herbert Fooks and Peter Hall. 1945 (Bombay: Thacker & Co., Rs. 3/14.)

LIFE OF DAYANAND SARASWATI. By Har Bilas Sarda. 1946 (Ajmer: Vedic Yantralaya, Rs. 12.)

A comprehensive and authentic biography of the great reformer and

teacher and a faithful presentation of his interpretation of the Vedas and of his special teachings and message to the world.

MR. BINGLEY IN DUKALISTAN. By Jabir Ali, 1946 (Bombay: Padma Publications, As. 8.).

HOUSING INDIAN LABOUR. By Kanji Dwarkadas. 1945 (Bombay: Thacker & Co., As. 8.)

FOOD GRAINS. Compiled By M. H. Kantawala. 1945 (Bombay: The Lotus Trust, Re. 1/-).

COCONUTS. Compiled By M. H. Kantawala. 1945 (Bombay: The Lotus Trust, Re. 1).

OUR NATIONAL FLAG. By Kapila Thakore. 1946 (Bombay: Padma Publications, As. 6).

NEW YORK WITH ITS PANTS DOWN. By D. F. Karaka. 1945 (Bombay: Thacker & Co., Rs. 5/14).

INDIA'S LABOUR WELFARE PROBLEMS. By D. P. Ketkar. 1945 (Bombay: Thacker & Co. Re. 1).

THE LATEST FAD, BASIC EDUCATION. By J. B. Kripalani. 1946 (Bombay: Vora & Co. Rs. 1/8).

A brilliant discussion and interpretation of Gandhiji's dynamic ideas on universal basic education against the background of Gandhian socio-political thought and ideas.

I. N. A. By Kusum Nair. 1946 (Bombay: Padma Publications. Rs. 1/8).

A moving delineation of the epic of Indian National Army—the historical circumstances of its birth, its stirring exploits, military and political, and of the historic trial in the Red Fort.

THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION. By Kusum Nair. 1946 (Bombay: Padma Publications, Re. 1/8).

A picturesque presentation of the history of the three Indian fighting Services, their life and role therein, together with a factual narration of the R.I.N. Ratings 'Mutiny' in February, 1946.

NEEDS OF INDIA. By Prof. J. Mangiah. 1932 (Vizag: S.S.M. Press).

SOME PARTICULAR SUGGESTIONS FOR THE CONSTITUTION OF FREE INDIA. By K. G. Mashruwala. 1946 (Bombay: Hamara Hindostan Publications, As. 4).

Valuable if novel suggestions for drafting a flexible constitution for a free and united India so as to reflect not only her genius and culture and facilitate the full play of centripetal forces but also to enable her to take her due place in world politics and help solve the problems of exploited peoples of Asia and the world.

STORY OF THE WAVELL PLAN. By K. P. C. Menon. 1946 (Delhi: S. Chand & Co., Re. 1/8).

SOME POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CONGRESS. By Sam M. Neksatkhan. 1946 (Bombay: Hamara Hindostan Publications, As. 4)

THE LEAGUE DEMAND. By Dr. Rajendra Prasad. 1946 (Calcutta: New Age Publishers, As. 12).

An illuminating appraisal of the Muslim League demand for Pakistan on the basis of the two-nation theory by a penetrating examination of the concepts of a 'Nation' and 'State' *vis-a-vis* race, language and religion, and of the dangerous implications of the demand both to the future of Muslims and of India.

THE SPEAKER OF THE ENGLISH HOUSE OF COMMONS. By Ramesh Narain Mathur. 1946 (Delhi: S. Chand & Co., Re. 1.)

A useful narrative of the evolution of the speakership of the British House of Commons to its present position of considerable status and influence.

THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN YOUTH. By Sadanand Bhatkal. 1946 (Baroda: Padmaja Publications, Rs. 3/12).

HANDBOOK OF NATIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE. Compiled By K. T. Shah. 1946 (Bombay: Vora & Co., Rs. 2/8).

FAMINE, RATIONING AND FOOD POLICY IN COCHIN. By K. G. Sivaswamy and Medical Surveys by Lt-Col. T. S. Sastri and Dr. J. A. Bhat. 1946. (Madras: Servindia Kerala Relief Centre, Rs. 3.)

FOOD FAMINE AND NUTRITIONAL DISEASES IN TRAVANCORE. (1943-1944). Surveys By K. G. Sivaswamy, Lt-Col. T. S. Sastry, Dr. M. E. Naidu and Dr. T. V. S. Sastry and 7 other Doctors. 1945. (Coimbatore: Servindia Kerala Relief Centre, Rs. 5).

THE EXODUS FROM TRAVANCORE TO MALABAR JUNGLES. Surveys By K. G. Sivaswamy and others. 1945 (Coimbatore: Servindia Kerala Relief Centre, Re. 1)

POLISH SHORT STORIES. Edited by Umadevi. 1946 (Swatantrapur, Aundh: Indo-Polish Library, Rs. 4).

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION. By Prof. K. N. Vaswani. 1945 (Bombay: Hamara Hindostan Publications, As. 12).

SWARAJ SUTRA (PRINCIPLES OF NON-VIOLENT POLITICAL ORDER). By Vinoba Bhave. 1945 (Bombay: Padma Publications, Re. 1/8).

A fervent appraisal of Gandhian philosophy of non-violence in the realm of political theory and an indication of the lines along which Indian political life should be organized in order to permeate it with the spirit of non-violence.

OF USE TO WORKERS AND VOTERS. Edited by An Election Campaigner. 1946 (Bombay: Hamara Hindostan Publications, As. 12).

PERIODICALS

THE SOUTH INDIAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS. Edited by B. Govind Row, Guntur : Rs. 2/12 per copy.

The valuable contents of this first issue and the names of their contributors constitute a guarantee in regard to the realization of the objective of this journal which is 'a scientific study of our economic and social problems'. 'The Truth About Economics' by Madhav Lal Capoor is thought-provoking and 'Stabilizing the Rupee' by J. C. Kumarappa is a bold and patriotic approach to the thorny problem. 'Some problems of Public Debt' by J. K. Mehta throws much light on a problem of considerable practical and political importance to this country. Dr. A. I. Qureshi contributes an interesting article on the co-operative movement in Hyderabad. There are other useful articles on Railways and Business. We extend a hearty welcome to this new journal.

ARTICLES ON INDIA IN FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Political

ADMINISTRATION IN BENGAL: THE ROWLANDS REPORT. By Sydney D. Bailey, *Far Eastern Survey*, 27 March, '46.

An objective analysis of the findings of the Rowlands Report of June 1945 on administration in Bengal.

THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND STATES. By H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner, *The Asiatic Review*, April 1946.

THE INDIAN SETTLEMENT. By H. N. Brailsford, *The New Statesman and Nation*, 25 May, '46.

A lucid and reasoned exposition of the long-range constitutional proposals of the British Cabinet Mission embodied in its Statement of 16 May, '46.

INDIA IN SUSPENSE. By H. N. Brailsford, *The New Statesman and Nation*, 25 May, '46.

A vivid description of the Indian political temper during the British Cabinet negotiations and an indication of the lines for a possible compromise.

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CHRONICLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

INDIA, BRITAIN

- 2 April 1946** Bevin announced in the Commons that he would lead the British delegation to Cairo to negotiate the revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance of 1936 with the Egyptian Government.
- 3 April 1946** The British Cabinet Delegation had their first meeting with the Congress President and Mahatma Gandhi; the Congress President expressed satisfaction with the progress of the talks and the spirit in which they are proceeding.
Emergency Conference on European Cereal Supplies opened in London with representatives from 18 nations.
- 5 April 1946** The Under-Secretary of State for India and Burma reiterated in the Commons that it was the British Government's declared policy to promote full self-government in Burma.
- 7 April 1946** Addressing the Convention of the Muslim League Legislators, Mr. Jinnah expressed the determination of Muslim India 'to carve out' a Sovereign State for the Muslims of India.
- 10 April 1946** Dr. Hugh Dalton presented the British budget proposals in the Commons.
- 12 April 1946** It was announced that Attlee had a conference with the Dutch Premier at which an agreement was reached for measures still necessary to liquidate the war with Japan and the gradual withdrawal of British troops and their replacement by Dutch forces in Indonesia.
- 16 April 1946** It was announced in the Indian Central Assembly that in the event of the South-African Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill being passed into law, the Government of India would take steps to bring this issue before the U.N.O.
- 21 April 1946** Lord Keynes, the eminent Economist died.
- 23 April 1946** Dominion Premiers' Conference opened in London to consider among others, the question of Empire defence as part of world strategy for peace.
- 2 May 1946** The Commons approved in principle a National Health Service Bill designed to provide free and equal treatment to all Britons without payment of special fees. It was estimated that the Bill would cost £ 152,000,000 a year.
- 2 May 1946** It was announced that an informal technical meeting on radio aids to marine navigation would be held in London from 7-22 May under the auspices of the British Government. India would be represented at the meeting and the programme would include discussions, and demonstrations on plants and development in the particular sphere.
- 3 May 1946** The Tripartite Conference of the British Cabinet delegation and the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League began in Simla to find an agreed basis for settlement by agreement between the two Indian parties.
- 7 May 1946** As a prelude to the negotiations for a revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, the British Government announced their decision to withdraw all British naval, military and air forces from Egypt.
- 9 May 1946** Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was declared elected as the President of the Indian National Congress. This is the fourth time that Pandit Nehru has been elected President.
- 9 May 1946** The Government of Burma Bill was published in London after its introduction in the

Lords on the 8 May. It provided for universal suffrage for adults at the age of 21 and alterations in financial qualifications for holding a seat in the Senate.

- 12 **May 1946** The Simla Tripartite talks ended. The Cabinet Mission issued a statement affirming that the breakdown of the talks did not in any way bring to an end the mission entrusted to them.

- 15 **May 1946** The Colonial Secretary disclosed that Lt-Col. Rees Williams and Capt. L. Gammans who were deputed to Sarawak had reported that there was sufficient acquiescence in the country to justify bringing the question of cession before the Sarawak Council on 16 May.

- 16 **May 1946** The Cabinet Mission made a Sixpoint recommendation regarding the basic form of a new Constitution for India. Rejecting Muslim League's solution of Pakistan, they proposed a three-tier Constitution based upon provinces, regional Groupings and an All-India Union at the top. The procedure for setting up a Constitution-making machinery was detailed. It was announced that the Viceroy had already initiated discussions with Indian leaders for the establishment of an Interim National Government.

The Colonial Secretary announced a new Constitution for Ceylon. It provides for the replacement of the present State Council by a parliament consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives and for a Cabinet of ministers with collective responsibility. The Governor is required to reserve for H. M.'s assent such classes of Bills as evoke serious opposition by any religious or racial community and likely to involve oppression or serious injustice to any such community. Bills relating solely to certain specified subjects such as franchise and immigration need not be so reserved. The Constitution is based

on the general lines proposed by the Soulbury Commission and accepted by the present State Council of Ceylon.

The House of Commons agreed to the India and Burma (Burma Monetary Arrangements) Order which would transfer the responsibility for the management of the currency of Burma from the Reserve Bank of India to the Governor of Burma and enable him to regularize the currency now existing.

- 20 **May 1946** The House of Commons gave third reading to the Bill nationalizing the British coal industry by 324 votes to 143.

- 22 **May 1946** The Colonial Secretary announced in the Commons that the Rajah of Sarawak had signed the documents ceding Sarawak to the British Crown. The British Cabinet delegation issued a statement on states treaties and paramountcy laying down that the British Government could not and would not in any circumstances transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government. 'As a logical consequence, the rights of the States which flow from their relationships to the Crown will no longer exist and all the rights surrendered by the states to the Paramount Power will return to the states. Political arrangements between the states on the one side and the British Crown and British India on the other will be brought to an end. The void would have to be filled either by the states entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government in British India or failing this, entering into political arrangements with it.'

- 24 **May 1946** The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution on the Cabinet Mission's proposals. After drawing attention to certain objectionable features relating to the compulsory grouping of provinces, the position of the Indian States and

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the Constituent Assembly, the Committee declared that in the absence of a 'full picture of the proposed provisional Government, the Committee are unable to give a final opinion at this stage'.

26 May 1946 The Dominion Premiers' Conference ended in London after giving shape to new ideas of world strategy, revolutionizing British traditions and looking towards complete reorientation of the Commonwealth defence system.

27 May 1946 The Cotton Working Party in Britain issued its report whose keynote is maintenance of the cotton industry as a major national industry under private enterprise.

28 May 1946 Replying in Commons to the question regarding the present discharge of the responsibilities of the Secretary of State for India to Parliament for peace, order and the good of government of India the Under-Secretary of State for India replied that under the present Cabinet proposals the existing Constitution must continue during the interim period as well as the responsibilities of the Secretary of State thereunder to Parliament.

By 338 to 184 votes the House of Commons passed a resolution approving the Government's decision to transfer appropriate 'sections' of the British iron and coal industry to public ownership.

30 May 1946 The Commons passed without division the Government's National Insurance Bill which entitles every adult in the country to cash benefit when unemployed or sick, and pension on retirement at a cost of over £450,000,000 a year, made up of weekly payments by employees and employers, and contribution by the Government.

31 May 1946 Herbert Morrison disclosed in the Commons that as a result of his talks in Washing-

ton, the quantity of wheat and coarse grain recommended for India over a five month period from May to September, was fixed at 1,165,000 tons. This was exclusive of the allocation of rice which the Combined Food Board would be able to make available in that period.

3 June 1946 The Governor of French India announced at Pondichery that the question whether French India was to join the Indian union as sponsored in the British Cabinet declaration or not had been left to the will of the people of French India.

6 June 1946 The Council of the All-India Muslim League passed a resolution accepting the Cabinet Mission's scheme and agreeing to join the Constitution-making body but adding that the League would keep in view the opportunity and the right of secession of provinces or groups from the union which had been provided in the scheme by implication. The League also reserves the right to modify and revise the policy set forth in this resolution at any time during the progress of deliberations of Constituent Assembly or thereafter if the course of events so required. The Labour Party Executive decided to send its long-planned delegation to Moscow this summer in an effort to improve relations by direct contact.

10 June 1946 Indian Princes accepted the Cabinet Mission's proposals and decided to negotiate with the Viceroy on issues which required adjustment during the interim period. They also accepted the Viceroy's invitation to set up a negotiating Committee envisaged in the Mission's proposals.

The Sikh Panthic Conference appointed a Council of Action to fight the Cabinet proposals in case they were not modified according to their requests.

The British Labour Party's annual Conference opened in Bournemouth. In his opening address Prof. Harold Laski, the Chairman of the Party's Executive asked the Soviet rulers, 'having experimented with distrust, to experiment in friendship.' He declared that atomic secret was the reason for Soviet suspicions. The British Labour Party Conference rejected the resolution for new laws to suppress fascist parties.

- 11 **June 1946** Attlee declared at the Labour Party Conference that even if Indians decided to go out of the British Commonwealth, the British Labour Movement would stretch out its hand of friendship to them.
- 12 **June 1946** A French Medical Mission consisting of Dr. Saidman and Dr. Krainik President of the Institute for the Study of Nutrition problems arrived in India.
- 13 **June 1946** In order to meet the Congress objection and avoid a break-down of the Cabinet plan the European Party in the Bengal Legislative Assembly announced that they would not nominate any one for election to the Constituent Assembly nor vote for a European to sit in it and that they would use their votes in accordance with any agreement reached between the two major parties.
- 14 **June 1946** It was announced that two Siamese Missions had been carrying on negotiations with the Government of India for the purchase of locomotives, trucks and miscellaneous stores and that a third mission had been discussing the financial details. Part of the payment would be in the shape of rice shipped to India and the balance might be paid in Siamese currency.
- 16 **June 1946** Lord Wavell announced that, in consultation with the Cabinet Mission, he had decided in the absence of agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League to proceed with the formation of an Interim Government. He decided to issue invitations to 14 leading personalities belonging to the two major parties and the minorities to join the new Government which would start functioning about 26 June. He also stated that he had directed the Governors to summon the provincial legislatures forthwith to proceed with the elections necessary for the setting-up of the Constitution-making machinery.
- 20 **June 1946** Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested at Domel, following his defiance of the ban on his entry into Kashmir.
- 22 **June 1946** The United Sikh (Panthic) Board decided that Sardar Baldev Singh, who had been invited by the Viceroy should not join the proposed Interim Government.
- 24 **June 1946** India filed a formal complaint with the U.N.O. charging the Union of South Africa with discriminating against Indians living in South Africa. The Secretary-General was requested to place the complaint before the General Assembly which meets on 3 September, '46. The Congress Working Committee decided to reject the Interim Government Proposals announced by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy on 16 June and accepted the long-term plan envisaged in the statement issued on 16 May. The U. S. Famine Commission, sponsored by the U.S. India Famine Emergency Committee, arrived in India to study the food situation first-hand.
- 25 **June 1946** The All-India Muslim League Working Committee decided to accept the Interim Government proposal announced by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy on 16 June.
- 26 **June 1946** The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy announced that a temporary Care-taker Govern-

ment of officials would be set up and that negotiations to form a Provisional National Government would be adjourned for a short interval while elections to the Constituent Assembly took place.

It was announced that the first (Preparatory) Asiatic Regional Conference of the International Labour Office would be held in India in January 1947.

The Colonial Secretary announced in the Commons that Sir Harold Mac Michael had during his mission assured the Malayan Sultans that Malaya lands reservation policy would be maintained.

- 27 June 1946 Mr. Jinnah expressed disapproval of the postponement of the formation of the Interim Government.
- 29 June 1946 The Jinnah-Viceroy letters were published. The lat-

ter rejected the former's suggestion that he had gone back on his word with regard to the formation of an Interim Government. The Viceroy also stated that he could not agree to the postponement of elections to the Constituent Assembly.

The British-Cabinet Delegation left India. The correspondence that had passed between the Viceroy and the Congress President in connexion with the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly was published.

A temporary 'Care-taker Government' of 9 officials pending the establishment of Interim National Government was announced.

- 30 June 1946 It was announced that Lord Woolton had accepted Churchill's invitation to become Chairman of the Conservative Party Organization.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA, AUSTRALIA & NEW ZEALAND

- 7 April 1946 The Siamese Premier announced that America had agreed to unfreeze Siam's assets held in U.S.A.

- 9 April 1946 It was announced that the Viet-Nam Assembly had selected a ten-man delegation headed by Pasm Van Dong to visit Paris in the latter half of April.

- 19 April 1946 It was reported from Fort De Kock that a National Committee for Sumatra had been constituted there during the visit to Sumatra of Dr. Amir Sjarifoedin, the Indonesian Minister of Defence, who gave directives for organizing a Republican administration in Sumatra on the same footing as that in Java.

- 22 April 1946 At the annual conference of the Victoria branch of the Labour Party, many speakers urged a purge of Communists in the Australian Labour Party.

- 26 April 1946 The annual session

of the Ceylon Indian Congress opened at Nuwara Eliya.

- 2 May 1946 The Sultan of Johore described Britain's plan for a Malayan Union as outright annexation of the nine Malayan States and predicted that there would be trouble. He added that the agreements with Britain had been signed under duress.

- 8 May 1946 Dr. Van Mook declared that he would resume his talks on Indonesia with Dr. Shariar, the Indonesian Premier, as soon as possible.

- 9 May 1946 King Ananda Mahidol of Siam signed a new Constitution which provides for a bicameral legislature with a Senate and a House of Representatives fully elected.

- 15 May 1946 It was stated that U.S. and Britain had asked France to guard against violation of Siamese territory by French troops in Indo-China. The request was a sequel to the reports that French

troops had fired across the Mekong river damaging buildings in the Siamese town of Makhon Phanon. The President of the National Defence Committee of Viet-Nam whose independence within the Indo-Chinese Federation had been recognized by France, walked out of the Franco-Indo-Chinese Conference at Saigon during a discussion on the Viet-Nam claim that the referendum in Cochinchina (which was at present outside Viet-Nam but claimed by it) should decide the administrative and not the political future of Cochinchina.

Lt-Col. Rees Williams and Capt. Gamman, the two British M. P.s deputed to investigate the Malayan attitude to the proposed Union plan, arrived in Singapore from Sarawak.

- 24 May 1946 Dr. Shariar declared that the recent Dutch offer was less than the terms agreed to before Sir Archibald Clark-Kerr left Java, particularly in regard to the question of sovereignty over Sumatra.

The Governor of Ceylon appointed the Delimitation Commission provided for under the new Ceylon Constitution and directed it to submit its report by 31 August.

- 28 May 1946 The President of the Council of Ministers of Siam wrote to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, charging France with attack on Siamese sovereignty and asking that the matter be brought up before the Security Council.

- 31 May 1946 Capt. Bertram Brooke, 'Than Muda' of Sarawak, and brother of the Raja Sir Charles Brooke, expressed opposition to the proposed cession of Sarawak to the British Crown on the ground that the native communities were overwhelmingly against cession. He contended that native members of the Sarawak State Council were against cession by 12 votes

to 9 and if European civil servants on the Council had abstained from voting, the Bill for cession would have been rejected.

- 1 June 1946 King Ananda Mahidol opened the first session of Siam's new Parliament, the country's first wholly elected legislative assembly. Immediately thereafter Premier Pridi Phanomyong and his Cabinet resigned in accordance with constitutional requirements.

- 2 June 1946 Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, the Governor-General of the Malayan Union, met Malay rulers in preliminary talks on several proposals which had been made for further consideration of constitutional arrangements for Malaya.

- 3 June 1946 U Ba Ohn and U Aye resigned from the Burma Governor's Executive Council at the request of U Saw, Leader of the Myochit Party.

- 4 June 1946 Dr. Shariar announced that he was preparing counter-proposals to the Dutch offer on the future status of Indonesia.

Nearly a million Indians in Ceylon staged a one day strike as a protest against the Ceylon Government's action in serving quit notices on 400 Indian labourers and their dependants who had been working on Knavesmere estate, Undugoda.

- 5 June 1946 A convention fixing the powers of the Cochinchina Provisional Government and its relations with the French High Commissioner in Indo-China was published in Saigon. The Convention is provisional and questions not yet regulated—including notably Cochinchina's fiscal and financial organization—will be subject to later agreements.

- 7 June 1946 Dr. Soekarno, the Indonesian President, proclaimed a state of siege throughout Java and Madura. He asked people to be ready for eventualities though

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the discussions with the Dutch were still in progress.

- 8 **June 1946** Warning that Indonesians would 'answer force with force', if the Dutch did not recognize their sovereignty, Dr. Soekarno announced the formation of the Republican Defence Council.

- 9 **June 1946** King Ananda Mahidol of Siam was found dead as a result of gun shot in his Palace.

- 10 **June 1946** The Viet-Nam self-governing State of Indo-China informed the French Government that it would not recognize the new Provisional Government of Cochin-China as its establishment violated the agreement signed between France and Viet-Nam on 6 March in which the Viet-Nam was recognized a self-governing State forming part of the Indo-Chinese Federation with French Union.

At an emergency session of Siam's Parliament, Prince Phumi Phom was unanimously chosen to succeed his brother to the throne of Siam. The Siamese Parliament appointed a three-man Regency Council to guide the new King.

- 17 **June 1946** The Siamese Parliament authorized the Government to present the Siamese-French dispute over frontier incidents on the Mekong River to the Security Council. Lt-General Sir Bernard Fresberg was sworn in as the Governor-General of New Zealand.

- 18 **June 1946** The Siamese Regency Council sanctioned a Commission of Inquiry into the death of King Ananda Mahidol with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court as the Chairman of the commission.

- 19 **June 1946** South-East Asia Command headquarters announced the establishment of a South-East Asia

Defence Council with headquarters in Singapore. The Council will keep under review defence problems of the area and will direct combined planning on all relevant matters.

The Colonial Secretary announced in the Commons that an agreement had been reached between the British Government and Directors of the British North Borneo (Chartered) Company on the terms of transfer of North Borneo rights and assets to the Crown.

- 20 **June 1946** It was officially stated at the Hague that Dr. Shariar's counter-proposals to the Dutch offer on the future of Indonesia 'constitute a serious deviation from those presented to the Dutch Government for its judgement last April.' Dr. Shariar's proposals comprise conclusion of a treaty containing *de facto* recognition of the authority of his Government for the establishment of an Indonesian Free State which would enter into an alliance with the Netherlands. Hostilities would be stopped and on both sides there would be no extension of positions occupied and of forces present. Representatives of outer territories would participate in the negotiations about the creation of an Indonesian Free State. Special relationship with this Free State and the Kingdom of the Netherlands would be established for those territories which objected to unconditional inclusion.

- 19 **June 1946** The Jogjakarta Radio announced that Dr. Shariar and some other Indonesian Republican officials had been kidnapped—and that as a temporary measure, all power had been vested by a Cabinet decree in the hands of Dr. Soekarno, the President.

THE FAR EAST

- 11 April 1946** Kuomintang rejected the three-point peace plan to end the spreading civil war in Manchuria viz. firstly Communist troops should evacuate the Mukden-Changchun Railway area, allowing National troops to enter Changchun peacefully; secondly, the northward advance of National troops should be halted for five days to allow Communists time to withdraw and during this period both the sides should meet to discuss the political situation in Manchuria; thirdly, when National troops take over Changchun, both sides should resume negotiations for a general political and military settlement. The plan was proposed by the Leader of China's Third Party, the Democratic League and accepted by the Communists.
- 12 April 1946** Agreement was reached in Harbin between the Chinese Central Government military delegation and the Chief of Staff of the withdrawing Red Army for the maintenance of law and order in Manchuria.
- 22 April 1946** The Japanese Government headed by Shidehara resigned.
- 24 April 1946** In a report on the Japanese general elections General MacArthur declared that the Japanese had taken a wide central course rejecting the two extremes, right and left, and that 73% of the voters had exercised their franchise, and that 66% of women voters had cast their votes although this was the first time they were given an opportunity to vote.
- 29 April 1946** Mr. Manuel Roxas won the Philippines Presidential election against Mr. Sergio Osmena.
- 3 May 1946** Shidehara broke the Japanese political deadlock by recommending as his successor Ichiro Hatoyama, Leader of the Progressive Party, which secured 141 out of 464 seats in the Diet in the recent general elections.
- 4 May 1946** It was announced that General MacArthur turned down Shidehara's recommendation of Hatoyama for the Premiership of Japan.
- 4 May 1946** Shidehara recommended Tetsu Katayama, Secretary-General of the Social Democrat Party, for the Premiership.
- 10 May 1946** It was announced that the Communist and Chungking forces had signed a 'cease fire' agreement at Hankow. The truce provided for an end of skirmishing troop movements for the exchange of war and political prisoners, evacuation of 1,000 sick Communists and protection for demobilized Communists leaving Central China.
- 16 May 1946** Emperor Hirohito commanded Shigeru Yoshida Foreign Minister in Shidehara's outgoing Cabinet, to form a new cabinet. General MacArthur had earlier approved Yoshida's nomination as the Premier.
- 20 May 1946** Shigeru Yoshida formed a new Japanese Cabinet.
- 6 June 1946** Chiang Kai-shek issued a 'cease fire' order, making a 15 day truce between the National Government and the Chinese Communists effective from 7 June.
- 9 June 1946** It was reported that the Soviet-Mongolian 'Treaty of 27 February had been ratified in Urga (Ulan Bator Hoto), Mongolia.
- 15 June 1946** Chiang Kai-shek and the Communist General Chou En Lai signed a new peace agreement up to the date of permanent settlement.
- 20 June 1946** Emperor Hirohito opened the 90th session of the Diet by reading a one minute Imperial rescript in which he expressed a desire for Japan to renounce war and dedicate her-

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self to the cause of peace.

- 25 June 1946** It was disclosed in New York that the Mongolian Peoples' Republic had applied for admission as a member of the U.N.O.

- 30 June 1946** It was reported that the Chinese National Government rejected the proposal made by Gen. Marshall on reorganization of the Chinese Army.

THE NEAR EAST AND MIDDLE EAST

- 11 April 1946** A Treaty of Friendship and Commerce was signed in Cairo between Egypt and the Kingdom of Yemen in South-West Arabia.

- 13 April 1946** The French and the British completed their evacuation from Syria.

- 19 April 1946** The Prime Minister of Iraq stated that the Iraqi Government had set up a Ministerial Committee to prepare the basis for the coming negotiations on revision of the Anglo-Iraqi treaty.

Elections were held to the Egyptian Senate.

- 30 April 1946** The Anglo-American Committee on Palestine issued a unanimous report recommending that 100,000 Jews be permitted to enter Palestine this year if possible, that the Government of Palestine be continued under the present Mandate until a Trusteeship agreement had been executed under the United Nations and that the existing land transfer regulations be replaced by others based on a policy of freedom in the sale, lease or use of land irrespective of race, community or creed.

- 4 May 1946** It was announced that the Democratic Government of Azerbaijan had concluded a treaty of friendship with the Kurdish National Government. It provides for exchange of diplomatic representatives between the two, mutual military assistance against aggression, joint negotiations with the Central Government in the event of such aggression, a trade agreement etc.

- 7 May 1946** The King of Afghanistan accepted the resignation of

the Prime Minister Sirdar Mahomed Hashim Khan and asked the Commander-in-Chief, Sardar Shah Mahmood Khan Ghazi, to form a new Cabinet.

- 12 May 1946** The Tabriz Radio announced that the negotiations between the Azerbaijan delegates in Tehran and the Central Government about the status of the province had broken down and that Azerbaijan National Army had been ordered to fight any Tehran Government attempt to enter the province.

- 13 May 1946** The President of the United Zionists (Revisionists) Organization, Dr. Louis Altman declared that his group intended to set up a Provisional Jewish Government for Palestine—with an armed force if necessary.

The Egyptian Prime Minister stated in the Egyptian Senate that evacuation of barracks in Egypt by British troops had already begun. The Persian Premier declared that deadlock had been reached in the negotiations with the Azerbaijan Mission and the talks would be continued later.

- 15 May 1946** Mr. Nahas Pasha, leader of the Wafdist Party, issued a statement on its behalf declaring that the party would not be bound by any negotiations between Britain and Egypt unless certain conditions had been fulfilled, namely negotiations should be carried on the basis of the unity of the Nile Valley, and Egypt should not be tied to Britain by any permanent military alliance.

- 19 May 1946** The Tabriz Radio announced that Persian armed forces had attacked Azerbaijan

from a point near Kurdistan. It added that a military Government had been formed in Tabriz.

20 May 1946 The Egyptian Premier stated that two drafts of a new Anglo-Egyptian treaty submitted by each to the other were being studied by both the Egyptian and British delegations.

21 May 1946 It was reported that Britain and U.S.A. had asked the seven Governments of the Arab League States, as well as the Arab Higher Committee and the Jewish Agency in Palestine, to submit their views on the Anglo-American Palestine Commission's ten main recommendations by 20 June.

22 May 1946 A new Lebanese Cabinet, a coalition of all parties, was announced with M. Saadi Munda as Premier and Minister of National Economy.

The Iranian Propaganda Minister announced that the Iranian Government would not hold the promised parliamentary elections until the Azerbaijan problem had been solved.

23 May 1946 The Moscow Radio announced that evacuation of Red Army troops from Persia was completed on 9 May.

25 May 1946 Emir Abdullah, the newly proclaimed King of Trans-jordan, speaking from his throne-room, immediately after the official declaration of Trans-jordan's independence from British Mandate, defined collaboration with 'Brother Arab States' as one of the aims of his Kingship.

The Iranian Prime Minister ordered preparations for elections to the Iranian Legislature which had been postponed while Iran was occupied by foreign troops.

26 May 1946 The Tabriz Radio announced that negotiations between the Iranian Central Government and the delegation from Azerbaijan which ended in a deadlock about a fortnight ago,

would be shortly resumed at Tabriz.

27 May 1946 The Egyptian Premier urged in Egyptian Parliament that Britain should 'hasten the evacuation as much as they can' without waiting for discussions on the revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, 1936, to create better atmosphere for talks.

28 May 1946 The Iranian Cabinet issued a decree authorizing distribution of Government lands throughout the country to peasants beginning in 24 days time. Distribution of lands was one of the stumbling-blocks in the negotiations with Azerbaijan Government.

Rulers of seven Arab States who are members of the Arab League, met for the first time at Inchass, near Cairo to seek a common policy on Palestine, the former Italian colonies in North Africa and certain other Middle East problems.

30 May 1946 The heads of the States constituting the Arab League passed a resolution pledging their support to the United Nations, but warned that further Jewish immigration into Palestine might endanger world peace.

31 May 1946 The Iraq Cabinet headed by Tawfiq Suwaid, resigned. Emir Abdul Illah, the Regent, asked Arsas Umar, former Foreign Minister, to form a new Cabinet.

7 June 1946 It was officially learnt in Paris that the Ex-Mufti of Palestine had secretly left France.

9 June 1946 Delegates representing the Arab States assembled at Blouddan near Damascus with the sole purpose of deciding 'on joint action to prevent Palestine from becoming a Jewish State'.

10 June 1946 The Turkish National Assembly decided to hold general elections on 21 July in accordance with the recently passed

electoral law which replaced the two stage voting system by direct universal suffrage. This will be Turkey's first free and direct election under the Republican regime and for the first time opposition parties will participate in the elections.

- 11 **June 1946** The Arab League passed a resolution stating that Arab-British friendship would collapse unless Britain agreed to Egypt's demands for a union of the Nile Valley and evacuation of British troops from the Valley.

- 13 **June 1946** An agreement was signed between the Central Iranian Government and Pishvari's Government of Azerbaijan. The main points of agreement are: Azerbaijan to surrender its claims to autonomy and relinquish its Ministries and Prime Ministership; the Iranian Central Government would appoint the Governor-General of Azerbaijan after receiving nominations from the Provincial Council; the Azerbaijan National Army would not be disbanded, but would come under the command of the Iranian Army while a Commission would consider the situation. 75% of Azerbaijan's revenue would go to its own provincial funds and the remainder to the national funds; Kurds, Armenians and Assyrians would have the same pri-

vileges as Azerbaijanis and the Kurdish language would be taught in primary schools, and the question of vote for women would be put to the Parliament of Tehran.

- 14 **June 1946** Soviet-Afghan frontier agreement was signed providing for the establishment of the State boundary between the two countries along the Thalweg and in the non-navigable part along the middle of Amudarya and Panja Rivers for the re-demarcation of the land sectors of the Soviet-Afghan boundary, and also the settlement of certain other questions.

- 16 **June 1946** Replying to the invitation by the British and U.S. Governments to submit its views on the main recommendations of the Anglo-American Commission on Palestine, the Jewish Agency for Palestine stated: 'The only just, practicable and lasting solution of the twin problems of Palestine and the Jewish people is the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish State'.

- 27 **June 1946** The Egyptian Government officially announced that the Mufti of Jerusalem was received by King Farouk on the 19th night. It was stated that the Mufti had told the King that he was a refugee of the Egyptian royal family.

THE BRITISH DOMINIONS AND THE COLONIES

[OTHER THAN IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA]

- 27 **April 1946** A new Bill regulating immigration into East Africa was published. Control is based on the local employment situation. The immigration permit may be refused if it is sought for any post which a suitably qualified resident can occupy. The Bill also requires large capital sums from the immigrants seeking to start business on their own account. It requires of a farmer £800, of a trader £2500 and of a

manufacturer £10,000.

- 4 **May 1946** It was announced by the South African Government that in view of the notice of termination of trade agreement given by the Government of India, goods entering South Africa from India would, after 25 June 1946, be subject to maximum duty-rates.

- 3 **June 1946** The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act was signed by the Governor-

- General and had become law.
- 13 June 1946** The Passive Resistance Campaign against the South African Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill was launched by Indians. A party of 20 Indians under the leadership of Dr. G. M. Naicker, Chairman of the Natal Indian Congress, pitched five tents and camped in the controlled area.
- 19 June 1946** De Valera told the Dail that Eire was a Republic in association with the British Commonwealth of Nations for external purposes. The King was recognized for those purposes and as a mark of association with those States, Eire had a special relationship with Canada, Australia and S. Africa because it suited their policy.
- 24 June 1946** 99 Indian 'Satyagrahis' were arrested in Durban for refusing to obey the order to leave the 'Passive Resisters Camp' they had set up on Corporation-owned land as a protest against the law restricting land purchases by Indians to certain parts of the Union.
- 26 June 1946** ¹ De Valera told the Dail that Eire would not seek to join the United Nations until the peace treaties had been signed.

AMERICA

- 3 April 1946** The U.S. Assistant Secretary of State announced that Britain had agreed to further negotiations on the question of reducing Empire Preferences.
- 5 May 1946** The U.S. State Department announced that it had asked 15 nations including India to disband their Purchasing Missions in the U.S. and resume normal peace-time trading practices as soon as possible.
- 6 May 1946** Truman sent to Congress a Bill authorizing a programme of military collaboration with other American States, including a training organization and equipment of the armed forces of American Republics.
- 12 May 1946** The plan drafted by military representatives from all the American republics for a common pool of air bases throughout America for military use by the 21 countries in the Western Hemisphere was disclosed in Washington. The plan was submitted to the 21 Governments for study and action.
- 28 May 1946** French and U.S. representatives signed agreement in Washington extending credits totalling 1,370 million dollars to France.
- 31 May 1946** The Bolivian Government declared a state of siege throughout the country owing to tense political situation.
- 1 June 1946** The National Negro Congress in Detroit decided to appeal to the U.N.O. alleging oppression of 13,000,000 of their race in the U.S.A.
- The U. S. Senate passed a Bill giving U. S. Government control over forces of atomic energy.
- 3 June 1946** The U. S. Supreme Court unanimously ruled in *Miami Herald* Contempt of Court case that newspapers had a right to criticize the judiciary at least in certain circumstances, on the basis that freedom of the Press was an inherent right of a democratic society.
- 6 June 1946** Truman disclosed that the U. S. Secretary of State and the British Foreign Secretary were negotiating implementation of the Anglo-American Palestine Committee's recommendation that 100,000 Jews be immediately allowed into Palestine.
- Mr. Fred Vinson, U. S. Secretary of the Treasury, was appointed Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

IMPORTANT EVENTS

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- 11 June 1946** The U. S. Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the 'Jim Crow' law of the State of Virginia which required segregation of Negro passengers travelling in omnibuses. This judgement will affect similar statutes in ten other states.
- 12 June 1946** A delegation of the Dutch West Indies legislature left for Holland to request Queen Wilhelmina, who agreed to receive the delegation, for grant of Home Rule to the Indies.
- 13 June 1946** It was officially announced that the Bolivian Government had quelled a military attempt at revolution which broke out in the morning.
- 14 June 1946** The Head of the U.S. delegation, Mr. Bernard Baruch, proposed to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission the destruction of the existing atomic bombs and cessation of their manufacture. He said that this should be done as soon as an adequate system of control of atomic energy had been set up and was in effective operation including a scheme for the immediate punishment of the violators of the rules of control. He added that United Nations should set up an International Atomic Development Authority (A.D.A.) with sweeping powers of control and inspection over all phases of atomic energy production from the raw material onward.
- The U.S. Senate passed the Bill authorizing admission to the United States and nationalization privileges for Indian citizens.
- 18 June 1946** The U. S. State Department announced the signing of U.S.-China 'Pipeline' agreement under which China would pay nearly 60,000,000 American dollars in connexion with Lend-Lease supplies in pipeline before and during the war against Japan. The agreement is retrospective from 2 September, 1945 and the total amount is to be paid by 1 July, 1976.
- 27 June 1946** The President of Chile, Juan Antonio Rios, died.

EUROPE

- 4 April 1946** Populists who led the elections and Centre Bloc formed a new Government in Greece with M. Panayottis Poulitzas, the non-party legal expert as Prime Minister. Archbishop Damaskinos, the Regent, resigned.
- 5 April 1946** Persia and Russia signed an evacuation agreement providing for unconditional evacuation of Persia by the Red Army and submission of the organization of a joint Persian-Russian Oil Company to the Persian Parliament within 7 months.
- 8 April 1946** It was announced that the Hungarian Cabinet had approved the Russian-Hungarian Oil and Shipping Agreements within the framework of the Russian-Hungarian Commercial Treaty.
- 11 April 1946** The Allied Mission (representing the United States, Britain and France) which watched the Greek elections on 31 March, reported to the effect that the elections were on the whole free and fair.
- 18 April 1946** Constantine Tsaldaris, Leader of the Greek Populist Party, formed a new All-Royalist Government to succeed the Coalition Administration led by Poulitzas. The Centre Bloc leaders refused to join the new Government as their demand for certain portfolios was rejected.
- 19 April 1946** The French National Constituent Assembly passed the Bill defining France's new Constitution by 309 votes to 249. The new Constitution provides for a single Parliamentary Assembly in contrast with Britain and U.S.A.. The President of the

- Republic who will be elected by the Assembly, will have less rights than the King of England and will not be able to dissolve Parliament. If the Government resigns, the President submits several names of candidates for the Premiership but the Assembly has the final say in the election of the Premier.
- 22 April 1946** The Congress of German Social Democrats and Communists passed a resolution for fusion of the two parties into a 'Socialist United Party'.
- 25 April 1946** The French Constituent Assembly passed the Insurance Nationalization Bill enforcing State control on 42 insurance companies.
- 6 May 1946** The electors of France rejected by a majority of about 1,000,000 votes the new Single Chamber Constitution recently voted by the Communist and Socialist majority of the French Constituent Assembly.
- 9 May 1946** King Victor Emmanuel of Italy abdicated. The Yugoslavian and Czech Prime Ministers signed at Belgrade a Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance in case Germany or a country allied with Germany followed a new policy of aggression. The treaty is for 20 years and is within the frame-work of the United Nations.
- 11 May 1946** The Italian Cabinet approved Prince Umberto's accession to the throne until the people had decided whether Italy was to remain a Kingdom or become a Republic.
- 12 May 1946** In agreement with King George of Greece, the Greek Government fixed the date of plebiscite for the return of monarchy for 1 September 1946.
- 14 May 1946** Opening the Spanish Parliament, General Franco stressed the Catholic character of the Spanish State which therefore could not be described as undemocratic. He charged France with allowing Spanish guerillas to act off the French territory and shutting the Franco-Spanish frontier.
- 17 May 1946** In General Elections for the Dutch second Chamber Dr. Carl Romme's Catholic Peoples Party won a majority of the seats. The Labour Party led by Schermerhorn, the Prime Minister, suffered a sharp set-back and gained only 29 seats. Right-wing and Calvinist Parties gained 13 seats and the Communists, 10 seats.
- 27 May 1946** Referring to the recent Paris Conference of the Foreign Ministers, Molotov attacked Anglo-American policy by declaring 'it is impossible to countenance certain non-Danubian Powers permitting themselves to dictate their will to Danubian States on the question of the Danube in a manner which does not correspond fundamentally with the interests of Danubian States, in particular of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia'.
- 27 May 1946** The Polish Government delegation led by the President and the Prime Minister of the Polish Provisional Government left Moscow after reaching an agreement with the Soviet Union. Both the Governments agreed to annul all war-time financial obligations on the arming and equipment of the Polish Army. Until Poland builds her own industry, Russia is to supply the Polish Army with arms and munitions. Russia has also offered to advance credits from its own gold reserves and to speed food supplies to the country. The Communist Party won the Czechoslovak general elections with more than double the votes of the next strongest party, the National Socialists—the evolutionary Socialist Party to which President Benes formally belonged. In Slovakia, the Communists took second place to

- the Democrats—the Conservative Party—who topped the polls.
- 2 **June 1946** Following the rejection on 5 May by referendum of the first draft constitution of the fourth French Republic, France went to the polls to elect a 586-men Constituent Assembly for a second time in 8 months. M.R.P. (Progressive Catholics) led by Foreign Minister, Georges Bidault emerged as the strongest single party with 160 seats out of the 522 seats of Metropolitan France, with Communists coming next with 146, Socialists with 115, Radicals 38, P.R.L., (Conservatives) 36, other Right-wing groups 22, other Left-wing Groups 5. Italy went to the polls to vote in a referendum.
 - 3 **June 1946** Kalinin, Former President of the Soviet Union died.
 - 10 **June 1946** The Italian Supreme Court announced final figures on the Italian referendum on Monarchy as follows: for Republic 12,672,767; for Monarchy 10,688 905. The Italian Premier, Gasperi, declared that Italian Republic had been proclaimed and that King Umberto would leave Italy in a day.
 - 11 **June 1946** Felix Gouin, President of the French Republic, resigned along with his Cabinet in order to pave the way for the formation of a new Government.
 - 13 **June 1946** Ex-King Umberto left Italy.
 - 19 **June 1946** The French Foreign Minister, M. Bidault was elected President of France's Interim Government with 384 votes. Dr. E. Benes was unanimously re-elected President of Czechoslovakia.
 - 22 **June 1946** The Italian Government issued a decree abolishing the Italian Senate.
 - 24 **June 1946** M. Bidault formed his Cabinet which nearly consists of equal representation of all the three major parties—M.R.P., Communists and Socialists.
 - 25 **June 1946** The Italian Constituent Assembly elected Giuseppe Saragat, Right-wing Socialist as its President.
 - 28 **June 1946** Signor Eurico de Nicola, a 69-year old Naples lawyer, was elected provisional head of the Italian State.

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

- 8 **April 1946** The final meeting of the League of Nations to wind up its affairs and transfer its work and assets to the new U.N.O. opened in Geneva. Sir Atul Chatterjee and Sir Nazimuddin represented India. Sir Atul was elected Chairman of the Committee appointed to deal with financial and administrative matters.
- 18 **April 1946** The Court of International Justice opened at the Hague as part of the United Nations machinery for world peace.
- 23 **April 1946** The Inter-Allied Reparations Agency announced that India would receive 0.24 per cent of the German merchant tonnage which was being handed over to Britain and the U.S. for distribution among 15 Allied Nations.
- 25 **April 1946** The Big Four Foreign Ministers Conference on drafting of peace treaties opened in Paris.
- 6 **May 1946** The Bretton Woods Organization officially came into existence with the first meeting of the Executive Directors of the Monetary Fund and International Bank.
- 16 **May 1946** Dr. Evatt disclosed at Paris that Britain had countered the U.S. request for Commonwealth bases in the Pacific with an alternative plan for overall defence of the Pacific, making American defences available to the British Empire and *vice versa*.
- 27 **May 1946** It was announced that the I.L.O. Governing body had

unanimously decided to hold the Preparatory Asiatic Regional Conference of the I.L.O. in India in January 1947 and to hold the first I.L.O. Conference in China in 1948. The Government of India had offered to provide half the expenses of the Preparatory Conference.

- 29 May 1946 It was announced by the President of the Inter-Allied Reparations Agency at Brussels that the bulk of the German merchant shipping available to 18 Allied Nations had been allotted to them and became their property. The decision on shares was unanimous except for India who refused the 23 year-old ship allotted to her, but did not resort to arbitration as entitled so as not to prolong the proceedings.
- 30 May 1946 An agreement was signed in London under which the I.L.O., would become a specialized agency of the United Nations.
- 1 June 1946 The U.N.O. Security Council's Sub-Committee on Spain recommended that unless General Franco's regime were withdrawn, the U.N.O. General Assembly should urge members of the United Nations to break off diplomatic relations with Spain.
- 4 June 1946 Mr. Eugene Meyer, Editor, *Washington Post* was elected President of the 38-Nation International Bank by the 12 Directors.
- 12 June 1946 The Ethiopian Minister disclosed in Washington that Ethiopia had protested to the Big Four Foreign Ministers against the French proposal to place Eritrea under Italian trusteeship, declaring that such an act would affect profoundly the political stability of North Africa.
- 17 June 1946 The Big Four Foreign Ministers agreed on four of the seven economic clauses of the draft peace treaty with Italy. The agreed clauses are (a) Compensation for war damage to United Nations property in Italy and a special Commission to deal with all the claims; (b) retention by each country of Italian property in United Nations' territory and experts to settle details; (c) future trade relations with Italy which is to give the United Nations 'Most Favoured Nation' treatment and (d) Italian renunciation of all claims against Allied nationals. The British delegate proposed in the Security Council that the Spanish issue should be referred to the General Assembly without any definite recommendations.
- 19 June 1946 The Soviet Delegate presented to the Atomic Energy Commission the text of a draft agreement outlawing all production and use of atomic bombs and decreeing destruction of the existing stocks of finished and semi-finished bombs within three months.
- 20 June 1946 The Big Four Foreign Ministers decided that British and U.S. troops should leave Italy within 90 days of the signing of the Italian peace treaty.
- 21 June 1946 The U.S. State Department disclosed that the U. S. Government had proposed that Britain, Russia and China join her in a 25-year treaty to keep Japan from becoming a threat to peace.
- 25 June 1946 The United Nations Atomic Energy Commission decided to form a working committee to consider all the proposals put before the Commission for control of atomic energy.
- 27 June 1946 The Big Four Foreign Ministers rejected Russian plan that Trieste should be made an autonomous district under Yugoslav Sovereignty to be administered under a statute approved by the four Powers. They decided to return the Dodecanese islands to Greece and to limit the Bulgarian navy to 7250 tons and a total personnel of 3,100.

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INTER-ASIAN RELATIONS*

By JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I remember when I was in Europe just twenty years ago, I attended a conference in Brussels, at which many Asian and European countries were represented. Then those who came from Asia met together, and we talked about developing some kind of contacts so that we could meet occasionally, somewhere in Asia, and develop political, economic and other relations, and, at any rate, get to know each other better. But though everybody agreed, and there were plenty of people from China, Indo-China, Indonesia, Ceylon, India, some from Syria, and I think one or two from Iran, an odd fact emerged: that this conference or meeting that we might have, of representatives from Asia, could not meet anywhere in Asia! It was easier to meet in Paris, Berlin, or Brussels, or London, than anywhere in Asia, partly because of political restrictions and partly because of travel difficulties which made it easier to reach European countries than any part of Asia. So the project dropped, and contacts dropped, except in so far as, for the following years, I remained in touch with many of these people from Syria to Indo-China. We used to correspond sometimes and it might interest you to know that some of the friends I made twenty years ago at that Conference are running the Indonesian Republic to-day; and those old contacts have stood us well now, because, apart from knowing each other distantly, personal relationships made me personally more interested in Indonesia and to a small extent made them more interested in India. And, if you have read any of the statements made by the Indonesian leaders you will find an amazing knowledge in them of Indian affairs, Indian political developments—even in some detail. As you know also, recently—some months back—they offered to send a great deal of rice here. That too, I think, was partly due to certain personal contacts that began nearly twenty years ago.

It is extraordinary really, when you come to think of it that no one has previously sponsored a new organization or group of individuals, such as an Asiatic—forgive me, I dislike using that word—Asian Conference because it is so obviously a thing that should be done. Especially now, that is, since the last war, closer relations between Asian countries have become so absolutely essential that, whether you sponsor this Conference or not, it is bound to come and as it is bound to come we may as well take a lead in it, because whichever way you look at it, India happens to be the centre of all this. Nowadays, one hears a great deal about regions. Well, whether one talks of the Middle East, or Middle West, or South-East Asia, or China, they all impinge on India; all depend on India, economically, politically and for defence purposes. They cannot help looking at India and we cannot help looking at them. There has been a great deal of talk about Southern Asia and South-Eastern Asia regions, in which of course India is included. Other people have talked about an Indian Ocean region and again India is included. India is also the centre viewed in terms of the defence of the countries of Western

* Substance of an Address delivered under the Bombay Branch of the Indian Council of World Affairs on 22 August 1946, Sir Homi Mody presiding.

Asia. It is obvious that India has to be some kind of base for defence. The other day I saw something about some kind of military memorandum, and it was said there, that if anything took place in the Middle East obviously defence must be organized from India. In any defence organization from India, obviously the second base must be South India. So even South India comes into it. Nowadays you must think of these things in terms of 'depth', as they call it. So it seems that in the modern world it is inevitable for India to be the centre of things in Asia. (In that term, I would include Australia and New Zealand too, being in the Indian Ocean region. East Africa comes into it also.) If so, it is about time that we in India began to think of this conference not vaguely but concretely and to think of it in co-operation with the representatives of all these other countries. I wish many of our people could visit these countries more than they do, not merely as tourists, but in many other ways. I should like to have political contacts with those countries but so long as political contacts are not available, cultural contacts, economic contacts and other contacts can grow. This Conference that is proposed might well begin this kind of development. A Conference at an expert level, under the auspices of an unofficial and non-political body like the Indian Council of World Affairs, to review the position of Asia in the post-war world, exchange ideas on the problems which are common to all Asian countries and study the ways and means of promoting closer contacts between them will, I am sure, lead to fruitful results.

I was asked who was to send representatives. I have not the least notion, because that really depends on the type of organizations they have there and without knowledge of that how am I to reply to that question? I would suggest that your definition should be vague and not exclusive, so that you can adjust yourself to any type of organization—provided it is not undesirable—that you find in those countries. It may be even that Governments might be unofficially represented. If some countries have no organizations of this type and want to send observers, they should be welcome. A type of organization like the Pacific Relations Institute—something like that—should be peculiarly suitable. Probably in each country they have their own type of organization and I think they should be permitted to send delegates if it comes within the wide scope of your definition. I suggest that you first try to find out what organizations there are and then pick and choose between them, without being too exclusive about it. When you have more than one organization to choose from they may be asked to send a joint and agreed delegation. What is important is that we must have from each country the best men that it can send, men who are well conversant with the problems set for discussion, the needs of their countries and their relations with those of the rest of Asia. In the choice of delegates, the need to represent different points of view at the Conference will, I am sure, be borne in mind. Thus you may have delegates from Palestine to present both the Jew and the Arab points of view. The delegates from China may put forward the points of view of both the Kuomintang and the Communists. At the same time care must be taken to avoid trespassing upon the domestic problems of

particular States. The Conference is an Inter-Asian Relations Conference and every care must be taken to see that the subjects selected for discussion and the approach to them are strictly Inter-Asian in character. We avoid on the one hand, controversial issues relating to particular Asian States, and, on the other, issues which have more than an Asian incidence and can be solved only at higher levels.

I remember, when this subject was being discussed at first, some people thought the Conference might be confined to South-Eastern Asia. I don't see why only South-Eastern Asia should be invited although it does form a region somewhat—from the defence and economic points of view—more closely allied to India. Then some people were afraid that if we spread out too much we might get nowhere, but I think we should spread out. I do not suppose that at this Conference any revolutionary changes would be made, or anything would happen politically that would create a marked change in any country. I do think, however, that the mere act of holding this Conference is psychologically revolutionary, that is to say, in making the people of Asia think in terms of closer co-operation with each other.

You know that in China one of the marked effects of the last war, of the Japanese invasion, was to push their Southern regions nearer to India and this led them to think more of India. The Burma Road development was a result of this. And their previous outlook, which was confined to the Treaty Ports, was upset and reversed and they had to think of the mainland more than of the hinterland. To some extent this has also happened more in recent years as a result of air traffic.

I wonder if you have realized that one of the major effects of the British occupation of India was the isolation of India from the rest of Asia. Until the British came here India had many close contacts with her neighbouring countries, but the result of British rule, partly deliberately, and partly as a result of the development of sea routes, cut us off completely from these countries and our contacts with each other were broken except by way of sea routes controlled by Europe—more especially by England.

In the last twenty or thirty years great changes have been taking place for various reasons, but more especially because of the development of air lines, and again, inevitably, India is getting contacted more and more with those countries.

I referred earlier to the Middle East, the Middle West, to China and South-East Asia. Then, there is a huge chunk of a country to the north of us, that is, Soviet Russia including Siberia and Turkestan. Obviously it is desirable for India to have relations with it—close relations—and I should imagine that, as soon as India can do so, one of the first things we should do is to establish proper diplomatic relations with all these Asian countries, including all the Asian Republics of Soviet Russia—which are very important for us from the political point of view. As to where and how these Republics of Soviet Russia would participate and what place they would occupy in the Conference, I am not clear in my own mind, because as far as I know that would depend entirely on the Governments there and I do not know whether

they have any private organizations of this type. It might be possible for some observers to come here from these regions. I should personally like to have them here because it would be to our mutual interest to get to know each other.

Talking of subjects for discussion, these include (a) national movements for freedom in Asia; (b) racial problems with special reference to the root-causes of racial conflicts; (c) transition from a colonial to a national economy, dictated primarily by national interests, but with due regard to international co-operation; (d) inter-Asian emigration and the status and treatment of immigrants; (e) welfare problems with special reference to public health and nutrition; (f) problems of industrial labour and industrial development; (g) cultural problems with special reference to education, art and architecture, scientific research and literature and (h) the status of women and women's movements in Asia. Every one of these problems raises issues of the first magnitude for the future of Asia. It is possible that you may call them non-political subjects, but they all impinge on politics, with a background of economics, if you like. Racial problems, which are terribly important and are likely to become more important in future, in fact these problems all impinge on politics. The Conference will not be meeting politically in the sense of discussing hundred per cent political issues but all these problems cannot ignore the political aspect, and I should imagine that there should be perfect freedom of discussion about these matters. If you want to include politics you may do so. They will not be ruled out. All these things you have to deal with in a rather flexible manner, particularly as you have no precedent of this kind to guide you and you have to make rules while you are functioning. Probably there will be difficulties, conflicts, etc., but you should try to avoid conflicts on major issues of the day as far as possible. One of the major issues of the day is a certain conflict between the Great Powers and we are seeing daily reports of specimens of what is called 'open diplomacy' even in the Peace Conference that is being held. That conflict between the Great Powers really colours all politics of the world to-day and it may colour them even more in the future. Almost every country gradually has to take sides—not sides in the material sense but sides in the political sense—especially those countries which are involved in the happenings in Iran. What is happening in Iran to-day is a very serious problem. I do not know all the facts, but it is obvious that what is happening in Iran might lead to very big trouble. On the one hand, the British have sent troops there openly to protect their oil interests; on the other, Russia says that she will send Russian forces down from the North. Well, between the two, I don't quite know what happens to Iran. I think anyway that it would be better that we should not go too deeply into the political problems of the day. But apart from that, politics are bound to come in and you will have to face them. I do not see how you can ignore them. More especially, developments in Iran make one realize that the world is moving very fast. In what direction we are moving I don't know, but it is certainly not a pleasant direction, and we are certainly not in a static condition. Anyway, we have to proceed as if nothing untoward

will happen on a big scale. We have no doubt that, if we do meet, the Conference will not put an end to the world's troubles. The Conference will help to promote good relations with neighbouring countries. It will help to pool ideas and experience with a view to raising living standards. It will strengthen cultural, social and economic ties among the peoples of Asia. The data papers presented to the Conference will constitute valuable documents and the discussions on them will, we hope, throw out concrete suggestions for practical policy.

I do not see why we in India or a group of Asian nationals should be pushed this way or that way. Why shouldn't we stand on our own feet and not be just playthings of Great Powers? Naturally, we all have our sympathies but if we meet together and confer together, we may develop a sense of solidarity and strength which may help us to develop some kind of a real inter-Asian policy (I hope against nobody, against neither Europe, America nor Russia, nor any other power) primarily to preserve and develop ourselves and to help world peace so far as we can.

Just one word more. Apart from our immediate problems, people have some kind of distant view of the shape of things to come. Many persons think that in the course of the next generation or so, a World Federation will be established. Ultimately, I suppose it is bound to come—if the world survives till then! But short of that it is inevitable that larger and larger federations will develop—I do not know when that will be. It may be in Asia; it may be in Europe. There may be two or three federations. In Asia it seems inevitable that two or three huge federations will develop. But whichever way you look at it, whether it is a kind of federation between South East Asia and India (and these countries are taken together may be for economic and other reasons) or may be a big federation of West Asia up to India or including India, or even both West Asia and India or East Asia and India leaving out China, and (it is quite conceivable that these federations might develop) India immediately becomes the centre again of everything. India is going to be the centre of a very big federation and if you think in those terms, problems of to-day in India immediately take another shape. Take, for instance, the so-called communal problem in India to-day. It becomes completely different if you think of it in terms of a large federation consisting of India and other countries which are on the borders of India, to the right and to the left. And so, from the point of view of all these possible developments of the future, and not too distant future, it is very desirable for us to gain contacts and develop closer relations with countries all over Asia.

THE SCOPE OF UNION SUBJECTS*

By D. R. GADGIL

THE subjects dealt with by the Union are specifically mentioned and it is expressly provided that all subjects other than the Union subjects and all the residuary powers should vest in the Provinces. The resulting scheme of the distribution of powers is like that in Australia and the U.S.A. This method leaves to the Provinces a mass of exclusive powers which could not be invaded or interfered with by the Union authority and also leaves to them in addition certain concurrent powers as to matters within the Union's sphere, to pass laws not inconsistent with the Union laws. The strength of the Union will depend on the total of the powers given to it under each of the subjects. In order to assess this total the likely scope of powers in each subject may be illustrated with reference to their detailed enumeration given in the constitutions of other federations and in the Government of India Act, 1935.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Three items from the 7th Schedule, list one, i.e., the Federal Legislative List in the Government of India Act, 1935, would obviously fall under this head. These are numbers † 3, 17, and 49. With some stretching of the meaning of the terms, items ‡ 19 and 44 could perhaps be also included. The powers mentioned in this connexion in the constitutions of the U.S.A., Canada and Australia and the more recent federal constitutions of the U.S.S.R. and Brazil may further be indicated. In the U.S.A. constitution the powers given to the Congress include powers 'to regulate commerce with foreign nations', 'to establish a uniform rule of naturalization', 'to define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offences against the law of nations'; these might all be supposed to fall within foreign affairs. Section 91 of the British North America Act, 1867, refers only to one subject 'naturalization and aliens' which would definitely be connected with Foreign Affairs. Section 51 of the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act contains however a much larger number of items and these are as follows :

External Affairs, Trade and Commerce with other countries, bounties on the export of goods, fisheries in Australian waters beyond territorial limits, naturalization and aliens, foreign corporations, immigration, emigration, and influx of criminals.

* This is a section of a study on the Indian Constitutional Problem being prepared by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics of which Dr. Gadgil is the Director.

† 3. External Affairs; the implementing of treaties and agreements with other countries; extradition, including the surrender of criminals and accused persons to parts of His Majesty's dominions outside India.

17. Admission into, and emigration and expulsion from, India, including in relation thereto the regulation of the movements in India of persons who are not British subjects domiciled in India, subjects of any Federated State, or British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom; pilgrimages to places beyond India.

49. Naturalisation.

‡ 19. Import and export across customs frontiers as defined by the Federal Government.

44. Duties of customs, including export duties.

In the constitution of the U.S.S.R., the following find a place among powers of the Union :

the representation of the Union in international relations, the conclusion and ratification of treaties with other States, foreign trade on the basis of a State monopoly, laws on the rights of foreigners.

The Brazilian constitution enumerates the items thus :

to maintain relations with foreign countries, to nominate members of the diplomatic and consular corps, to enter into treaties and international conventions; to decide definitely regarding the limits of national territory, the naturalization, entry and departure from national territory, immigration and emigration, passports, expulsion of foreigners, extradition, foreign commerce, exchange and transfer of funds abroad.

A study of these lists shows that a number of items obviously fall within the sphere of foreign affairs. Firstly, there is the representation of the country abroad and the negotiation of treaties and agreements with other powers. Secondly, all questions of immigration and emigration and those connected with naturalization and aliens. Thirdly, there is jurisdiction beyond territorial limits and lastly questions connected with foreign commerce and with the exchange and transfer of funds abroad. Little difficulty would arise regarding the propriety of inclusion or the interpretation of the scope of the first three.

The nature of the power in respect of foreign commerce etc. must be, however, examined in some detail. No direct power is given to the Union in respect of foreign commerce or foreign exchange. This does not, however, mean that the power of regulating foreign commerce or exchange is denied to it so long as and to the extent that it could be proved that the subject 'foreign affairs' necessarily included such power. In this connexion no importance could be attached to the fact that in the constitutions of other federations power over foreign commerce is specifically mentioned apart from foreign or external affairs. The enumeration of powers in these constitutions is not made strictly in terms of mutually exclusive categories. Also, there are examples where foreign commerce is not mentioned apart from foreign relations and where the one was obviously included in the other. Article 6 of the German Constitution of 1919 enumerates the sole legislative powers of the Federal Government. 'Foreign Relations' heads the list in this article, which does not, however, contain any specific reference to foreign commerce, though it mentions separately the Customs Department.

Foreign Affairs, it should be noticed, is not a single subject like, say agriculture, or even a single group of subjects like 'communications.' It is a comprehensive class and includes all subjects which have an aspect of relations with other countries and includes them only in the context of that relation. Foreign affairs is very wide and covers all relations with the outside world and it necessarily includes all external economic relations. No Government other than the Union Government would be competent to regulate external economic relations and the Governments of Groups or Provinces could not directly enter, for example, into trade agreements with other countries. Any treaty, compact or convention, whatever its nature, with any

foreign country—or international authority—could be entered into only by the Union Government. All obligations accepted on behalf of the whole or any part of the territory comprised within the Union would be accepted by the Government of the Union. All legislative or administrative acts which seek to regulate the interests, connexions or affairs of Indian Governments or nationals abroad would be performed only by the Union Government. Territories or persons, goods, services or funds may all become affected by the impact of foreign relations and to the extent that this happens they would fall within the jurisdiction of the Union. There is, therefore, little doubt that if regulation is to be attempted, international obligations undertaken, or the terms of exchanges settled regarding any foreign commerce in commodities or in services, in money or in credit the Union Government would be the only competent authority in this behalf. In acting within this sphere the Union Government may have for a variety of purposes previously to consult Provincial or Group Governments or act in constant collaboration with them. The practical need to do this cannot, however, be taken to affect its absolute powers within the field of foreign affairs, including external economic relations.

The position in regard to the customs tariff is not equally clear. It might be held that the levy of any duty on an article of export or import affected external economic relations and was, therefore, a part of foreign affairs. On the other hand, it might be argued that the subject included only that aspect of foreign commerce which was affected by relations entered into or agreements made with foreign countries and did not, therefore, embrace the whole field of customs duties. Nothing in the proposals of the Cabinet Delegation indicates that a customs frontier between Groups or Provinces is ruled out by the scheme. In almost all federal constitutions the regulation of interstate commerce is, equally with the commerce with foreign countries, an attribute of the Federal Authority. No mention of interstate commerce is made in the proposals of the Cabinet Delegation. It is, therefore, obviously not within the competence of the proposed Indian Union. A Province or a Group of provinces would then be at full liberty to impose duties or restrictions on trade between Provinces or between Groups. Would duties on imports and exports necessarily fall completely within the sphere of the Union's jurisdiction in so far as commerce with particular countries is carried on under definite treaties or agreements with them, the competence of the Union Government would be unquestioned. Group or Provincial Governments could not have powers to alter these terms. But within the sphere within which international trade agreements did not operate it might be argued that the Provincial or Group governments would have the power to levy or vary the rates of import or export duties.

The position regarding the regulation of currency is similarly ambiguous. Representation on an international monetary fund or bank would, no doubt, rest with the Union and the fixation of rates of exchange and agreements with other countries relating to them would obviously fall only within the competence of the Union Government. All direction and regulation of the transfer

of funds abroad would also rest with the Union. This should prove sufficient to give to the Union, authority and power relating to the issue and management of currency for the country as a whole. However, it would be still possible for a Province or a Group government to issue currency, including paper currency, of its own, for circulation within its own area of jurisdiction, and the regulation of banking would completely rest with these governments. Because of this, the monetary authority of the Union might find it impossible to implement all its decisions fully throughout the territory of the Union except with the willing co-operation of Province and Group authorities.

Another question which is relevant to raise here but which is somewhat difficult to decide is the regulation of the entry of foreign capital. Obviously no Group or Provincial government could itself raise a loan abroad or enter into any economic or financial agreement or commitment with foreign governments or individuals. Also, the regulation of foreign corporations might fall distinctly within the Union's sphere. It is doubtful, on the other hand, whether the regulation of the participation of foreigners in corporations formed within the territories of the Groups and the Provinces could be all done by the Union Government. If it is not possible to close this loophole the operations and the entry into the country of foreign capital would be subject to varying conditions from region to region and might lead to some measure of competitive legislation. It is likely that an overall regulation of transfer of capital between country and country might come about as a result of international agreements and the operations of international organizations. In this case, the sphere within which Group or Provincial Governments have the liberty to act would be severely restricted. On the whole, it might be said that through its power over foreign affairs the Union government might be able to influence, at least, indirectly an important sector of economic life and this sector would be the larger and the more influential, the more pervading and inclusive became the operations of international economic organizations.

Another important issue in connexion with the scope of foreign affairs is the extent of the legislative power given to the Union because of the power to enter into treaties and agreements with other countries. In discussing this subject it would be best to start with a threefold classification of authorities with differing competence that might be contemplated in connexion with constitutions of federal governments: (i) authorities competent to legislate upon a given subject for municipal purposes; (ii) an authority competent to legislate on the same subject for giving effect to international engagements and (iii) an authority competent to undertake an international engagement * (Cf. C.W.Jenks: *Constitutional capacity of Canada to give effect to international labour conventions*. I and II. *Jou. of Comp. Leg.* Vols. XVI and XVII. 1934-1935).

We are not concerned with the distinction between (ii) and (iii). It is agreed that the ratification of a treaty by the authority competent in this behalf does not by itself alter the law of the land and that, for this purpose, the competent legislature must act appropriately. The division of functions as between

(ii) and (iii) may occur within even a Unitary Constitution and is not peculiar to federations.*

For our purpose the significant difference is that between (i) and (ii) and it is necessary to find whether in the proposed Indian Union the Union legislature could be placed in the category classified as (ii) above. Reference may first be made to the position in other federal constitutions.

The position in the U.S.A. appears clear. The treaty-making power of the U.S.A. government enables it to enter into any field of legislation to give effect to treaties irrespective of the division of powers between the Federation and the States in the Constitution. However, this is the result not of any interpretation of the power of the Congress over foreign affairs but is directly and separately provided for in the constitution itself. Article VI of the U.S.A. constitution lays down that 'all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land.' The U.S.A. example would thus not apply to any constitution in which no such specific provision is included. The special responsibility of the U.S.A. Senate in respect of foreign affairs and treaties is also a significant feature of the federal constitution of that country. As regards Canada Section 132 of the British North America Act (1867) provided that the Parliament and Government of Canada shall have all powers necessary for performing the treaty obligations of Canada arising under treaties between the Empire and foreign countries. So long as the Dominion Government acted under these powers it was held to be competent to enter the sphere of even exclusive provincial legislation to give effect to treaties. However, when Canada entered into treaty obligations with foreign countries directly, Section 132 was no longer held to apply. In the changed situation the Privy Council ruled that in spite of the Dominion Government possessing treaty-making powers and also the general powers for making laws for the peace, order and good Government of Canada, 'the legislative powers remain distributed'. It added :

If in the exercise of her new functions derived from her new international status Canada incurs obligations, they must, so far as legislation is concerned, when they deal with the provincial class of subjects, be dealt with by the totality of powers, in other words by cooperation between the Dominion and the Provinces.†

In Australia, the Commonwealth Parliament has legislative powers in respect to external affairs and no special provision is made in the constitution regarding giving effect to obligations arising out of treaties. The extent of the power thus vested in the Commonwealth Parliament has not yet been fully defined by a judicial decision. In one case, however, a minority of the judges of the Supreme Court were prepared to hold that the Commonwealth had powers to implement through legislation treaties and conventions under its authority as to external affairs. The majority of the Court, however, did not commit itself to this view and even the minority insisted that in order

* Cf. Keith: *Governments of the British Empire*, 1935, p. 113.

† Attorney-General for Canada V. Attorney-General for Ontario and others (1937).

to be valid, under this power, the Acts passed must exactly follow the treaty or conventions and that any deviation would be fatal.

It was perhaps, in view of this difficulty experienced elsewhere that the Government of India Act 1935 attempted to define clearly the effect of the treaty-making power. The item 'the implementing of treaties and agreements with other countries' is included in the Federal Legislative List of the 1935 Act. However, by a special Section in the same act the effect of this power was strictly defined and it was laid down that the 'Federal Legislature shall not by reason only of the entry in the Federal Legislative List relating to the implementing of treaties and agreements with other countries have power to make any law for any Province except with the previous consent of the Governor or for a Federated State except with the previous consent of the Ruler thereof.*' It has been pointed out that because of the wording of sub-section (30) of this Section the restrictive effect of the provision was not considerable, as the concurrent powers of the Federal authorities were fairly wide under the 1935 Act.†

In the constitution of the Indian Union no such large list of wide concurrent powers is expected to find a place. Therefore, if a provision similar to that of Section 106 of the 1935 Act is included in the new constitution no extension of the legislative sphere of the Union will take place because of the treaty-making powers vested in it.

To sum up, treaty-making powers can be relied upon to bring within the competence of Federal Governments all legislation arising out of treaties, agreements etc. only if special provisions exist in the constitution such as those of Act 8 of the U.S.A. constitution or Section 132 of the British North America Act. In the absence of such provision the constitutional division of powers between the Federal and Provincial or State Authorities may be said to define the limit of legislative competence in respect of agreements with foreign countries also. In view of the existence of Section 106 in the Government of India Act 1935 it is expected that those who favour a strict delimitation of the powers of the Union will insist on a similar provision being included in the new constitution and thus settle the question beyond doubt.

The representation of India abroad will undoubtedly lie with the Union under the proposed scheme, but, outside the sphere of Union subjects, the policies that the Indian representatives would expound and the decisions they would agree to would depend on the instructions not solely or chiefly of the Government of the Union but of those of the governments of various Groups. The Indian delegation to an international food conference, for example, might even have to expound not one but two or three sets of different policies. The ratification of international conventions such as those relating to labour could also not be guaranteed in advance on the advice only of the Union Government.

DEFENCE

Under defence would be included the following items in the list of federal

* Sec. 106 (1).

† Sec. S. K. Das: Canadian experience and the treaty-making power in the Government of India Act 1935. *Jou Comp. Leg.* Vol. XX. 1938.

subjects of the 7th Schedule of the 1935 Act: 1, 2, 29, 30 and 39.* The defence powers of all Federations generally include the powers to declare war and make peace and the powers to raise, maintain and control all kinds of arms. The extent to which defence is held to include certain other things might be illustrated by reference to the wording of the powers in some federal constitutions. Section 51 of the Australian Act lists the following items: 'the naval and military defence of the Commonwealth and the several states, the control of the forces to execute and maintain the laws of the Commonwealth.' Section 119 of the same Act lays down that 'the commonwealth shall protect every state against invasion and, on the application of the Executive Government of the state, against domestic violence.' The constitution of the U. S. A. gives powers to Congress 'to provide for calling forth the militia to execute laws of the Union, to suppress insurrections and repel invasions,' and also to exercise exclusive legislation 'over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock yards and other needful buildings.' The Brazilian constitution mentions amongst powers of the Union 'to authorize the production and to supervise the commerce of war materials of whatever nature,' and 'the manufacture and commerce of arms, munitions and explosives.' The immediate scope of the powers of defence is fairly well defined. The chief directions of its possible extension are (i) a sphere connected with internal security, (ii) control over areas where activities connected with defence works are carried on and (iii) the manufacture of and commerce in commodities intimately connected with defence operations. The field of defence has widened in all these directions in modern times because of the extension of the areas of operation of all types of arms and the sphere of productive activity concerned with defence operations.

The general responsibility for defence and security of a federal government has been held in all federations to vest it with very wide powers in times of war. As early as 1916 the Supreme Court of the Australian Commonwealth upheld the power of the Commonwealth government to regulate, during times of war, economic activity in very considerable detail under its general power of defence. During the last war also defence powers have been held to be

* 1. His Majesty's naval, military and air forces borne on the Indian establishment and any other armed force raised in India by the Crown, not being forces raised for employment in Indian States or military or armed police maintained by Provincial Governments; any armed forces which are not forces of His Majesty but are attached to or operating with any of His Majesty's naval, military or air forces borne on the Indian establishment; central intelligence bureau; preventive detention in British India for reasons of State connected with defence, external affairs, or the discharge of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States.

2. Naval, military and air force works; local self-government in cantonment areas (not being cantonment areas of Indian State troops), the regulation of house accommodation in such areas, and within British India, the delimitation of such areas.

29. Arms; firearms; ammunition.

30. Explosives.

39. Extension of the powers and jurisdiction of members of a police force belonging to any part of British India to any area in another Governor's Province or Chief Commissioner's Province, but not so as to enable the police of one part to exercise powers and jurisdiction elsewhere without the consent of the Government of the Province or the Chief Commissioner, as the case may be. Extension of the powers and jurisdiction of members of a police force belonging to any unit to railway areas outside that unit.

very wide by judicial interpretation; and though the courts have not been entirely uncritical almost any regulation that could be presumed to have some connexion with the conduct of war has been held to fall within the purview of this power. The responsibility for defence would thus give the Union government a very wide sphere of operation during the actual course of a war. On the other hand, it is equally true that the scope of these powers is held to be wide only during times of war; during times of peace this power has always been interpreted narrowly. In modern times the sphere of the Union Government because of the large number and variety of bases required for defence purposes and because of many types of production connected with defence operations might be much wider than before. However, it could not cover but a small fraction of the total area of economic activity in times of peace.

COMMUNICATIONS

With communications we come to a subject given to the Indian Union which has a content much wider than that included in the powers of any other federal authority. Under this heading could be included not only a great many of the items in list one of Schedule 7 of the 1935 Act such as 7, 18, 22 to 26,* but some also in list 2, for example, 18, and in list 3, for example, 20 and 32.** Through its power over this subject the Union Government would control rail and road communications, navigation and shipping, post and telegraphs, airways and airships, beacons, buoys, lighthouses, custom houses, warehouses, ports and harbours and all other incidentals like port, river and railway police, connected with their maintenance. This is undoubtedly a very large list of subjects and a vigorous and active Union Government might be able to help economic development in most parts of the country through a well-planned policy relating to the facilities for transport and the rates charged for them. However, it must be remembered, that the influence of a communications policy on economic development would be

LIST I *

7. Posts and telegraphs, including telephones, wireless broadcasting and other like forms of communication; Post Office Savings Bank.
18. Port quarantine; seamen's and marine hospitals, and hospitals connected with port quarantine.
22. Major ports, that is to say, the declaration and delimitation of such ports, and the constitution and powers of Port Authorities therein.
23. Fishing and fisheries beyond territorial waters.
24. Aircraft and air navigation; the provision of aerodromes; regulation and organization of air traffic and of aerodromes.
25. Lighthouses, including lightships, beacons and other provision for the safety of shipping and aircraft.
26. Carriage of passengers and goods by sea or by air.

LIST II **

18. Communications, that is to say, roads, bridges, ferries, and other means of communication not specified in List I; minor railways subject to the provisions of List I with respect to such railways; municipal tramways; ropeways; inland waterways and traffic thereon subject to the provisions of List III with regard to such waterways; ports, subject to the provisions in List I with regard to major ports; vehicles other than mechanically propelled vehicles.

LIST III

20. Mechanically propelled vehicles.
32. Shipping and navigation on inland waterways as regards mechanically propelled vessels, and the rule of the road on such waterways; carriage of passengers and goods on inland waterways.

largely indirect. Transport plays an important part in plans of production and distribution and the transport authority can materially help or hinder the success of general economic planning. Economic controls or development plans cannot, however, be initiated from the transport end. Further, while all other economic activity is within the sphere of the Provinces and only communications are controlled by the Union, Central policy would necessarily be colourless. It could not easily adapt itself to all the varying aims and methods of the differing Group or Provincial policies and it would have to avoid giving the impression of discriminating between the different means of transport or types of commercial activity or between areas.

FINANCE

Finance for the conduct of all these powers is not a separate power but is included in the ambiguous phrase 'and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.' The justification for this phrase is to be found in an important difference of opinion between the League and the Congress. The former maintained that the Union should have no taxing powers of its own but should raise resources, presumably, by contributions from provinces. The Congress leaders insisted that the Union should definitely control Customs and should have the power to raise revenues in its own right. If the point of view of the League is accepted the Indian Union would be no more than a confederation. It would leave India in the position occupied by the States of America before the adoption of their present constitution. However, even if the Union is ultimately vested with taxing powers it is unlikely that these powers would be wide.

In most other federations the power of taxation given to federal authorities is either very wide or is absolute, i.e., without any qualification or limitation being imposed on it. It is ordinarily not hedged in by reference to either limited and specific purposes or to special sources of revenue. The U. S. A. constitution gives power to the Congress 'to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States.' The Canadian constitution gives the Dominion Parliament authority for 'the raising of money by any mode or system of taxation.' The Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act gives to the Parliament powers of 'Taxation' with only the qualification 'but so as not to discriminate between States or parts of States.' The U. S. S. R. has amongst the powers of the Supreme Council 'the approval of the single budget of the U. S. S. R. and also of the taxes and revenues which serve to form the budgets of the Union republics and localities.' In the Brazilian constitution there is an attempt at a distribution of sources of revenue. Certain important broad heads are given to the federal government, while a number of subordinate tax resources are reserved to the States. The Government of India Act of 1935 also follows the method of division of revenue resources.

It is not clear whether a proposal for vesting the Indian Union with general unlimited taxing power will prove acceptable. There need, however, be no objection to defining clearly the tax sources allotted to the Union. As a matter

of fact it may be found convenient, in the Indian Union, to divide as far as possible heads of revenue between the Federation and the Provincial governments. Once, however, a tax power rests with an authority its discretion to make use of it should not be allowed to be questioned as a constitutional issue.

The Union is to be vested with powers to raise finances required for the purposes of the three subjects : Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications that are allotted to it. This manner of stating the power to raise finance necessarily imposes an important limitation on the authority of the Union; and the effects of this may be far-reaching; the Union has obviously no powers to raise finance not required for the above purposes. All taxing acts as well as all spending must be justified with reference to the three Union subjects. Only the U. S. A. constitution among the important federal constitutions, links the power to tax with the objective of expenditure. These objectives in the U. S. A. constitution are very broadly stated. They are 'to pay the debts,' 'to provide for the common defence and general welfare.' The last of these, 'general welfare,' is so comprehensive that little difficulty has been experienced in justifying any measure of taxation before courts of law. The U. S. A. Courts have consistently held that the power to appropriate, i.e., the power to spend the proceeds of taxation is as broad as the power to tax and is, therefore, limited only by reference to general welfare. It has also been held, because of linking the power to tax with general welfare, that the power of the Congress to authorize moneys for public purposes is not limited by the legislative powers given to the Congress in the constitution. However, even in the U. S. A. the power of Federal authorities to act through the power to tax and to appropriate the proceeds of taxation has been found to be not altogether unlimited. The Supreme Court, even while interpreting the provisions liberally, has laid down that distinction must be drawn between one welfare and another and between particular and general and these distinctions played an important part when the Agricultural Adjustment Act was held unconstitutional.

In view of this, even if the sources of revenue given to the Union prove ample, the power to tax and to spend may be subjected to a number of obstructive conditions. The Delegation proposals do not give the power to tax but merely power to raise finance; they also limit the use of this power, to finances required for the three subjects. At least two important types of difficulties are thereby created which may be illustrated briefly. Firstly with reference to acts of taxation. If finance is raised by taxation the wording of the Cabinet proposals may lead to disputes relating to the manner in which particular tax proposals operate. A tax, inevitably, has other effects than those of raising revenue and if these other effects are found to be important the Union by imposing the tax, may be held to operate in the field beyond those of the subjects allotted to it. A customs duty levied with only a fiscal objective may have an unintentional protective effect—large or small. This might be held to make the levy of the duty *ultra vires* of the powers of the Union and similar difficulties are bound to arise in respect of all major taxes direct or indirect.

Secondly, it would not presumably be possible for the Union to raise funds in excess of its own strict requirements and if it had any surplus funds its power to appropriate would be bound by the same conditions as its power to raise finance. That is, the Union would have authority to spend money directly or through an agent only for a purpose within the field of the three subjects given to it. If this happens, one of the most important means by which federal governments have in recent times enlarged the scope of their activities will be denied to the government of the Indian Union. The very broad taxing powers of federal governments have resulted in federal resources being usually more ample than the requirements of subjects directly within federal competence. Governments of federations have consequently found themselves with surplus funds. The federating states have usually been short of money, especially with the recent expansion of state responsibilities. Grants-in-aid by federal governments have, therefore, become very common and they have been one of the most potent instruments by which federal governments have exercised influence over broad spheres not directly under their purview. The conditional grants of the U.S.A. federal government have been used to induce states to fall in line with federal policy on a large number of questions. The severe encroachment of the tax field by the Dominion Government has been used as a bargaining counter in dominion-provincial relations by the Dominion Government of Canada. And the government of the Australian Commonwealth was able to use jointly its power to tax and to make grants and its war powers to compel the states to vacate the field of income taxation during the war. It is obvious that a strict interpretation of the wording of the Delegation proposals would rule out the emergence of any system of federal grants in the Indian Union and the financial powers of the Indian Union under the proposals of the Delegation would be vastly weaker than that of any major federation in existence in the world today.

It has been argued that the scope of the powers of the Union could be increased by presuming upon some inherent powers in a national government and also by reference to implied or ancillary powers. The argument appears, however, to have little substance. For example, in the U. S. A. it has no doubt been held that in the external sphere the powers of the federal government are supreme and not liable to division and the Courts have said that the power to declare and wage war, to conclude peace, maintain diplomatic relations with other sovereignties must be taken as vested in the federal government as necessary concomitants of nationality even if they had been never mentioned in the constitution. However, internally the federal government is a government of enumerated powers and it has been laid down that the Congress has no inherent sovereign powers in the realm of domestic legislation. The subject of implied and ancillary powers has been largely discussed in connexion with the powers of the Dominion Government in Canada. The structure and wording of the British North America Act favour a liberal interpretation of the powers of the Dominion Government. Section 91 of this Act gives powers to the Parliament of Canada 'to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Canada' and enumerates classes of sub-

jects over which the Dominion Parliament has powers without restricting the generality of the initial provision. Section 92 enumerates subjects of exclusive Provincial legislation, the residuary powers remaining definitely with the Dominion Government. It would be expected that in these circumstances a large field might, in time, be covered by implied or ancillary powers. In fact, the division of powers according to enumerated subjects has been strictly maintained. The jurisdiction of the Dominion to legislate under the general phrasing 'peace, order and good government' has been held to exist only where the subject matter was outside those mentioned in Section 92, i.e., the exclusive provincial powers.* And the so-called ancillary legislation has been upheld by the Courts in cases in which the enactment in controversy dealt with an aspect of the subject upon which Provincial legislation would have been incompetent, in other words, the subject in the aspect dealt with fell strictly within one of the enumerated classes of Section 91.** It is thus clear that where the powers of the Union are confined to named subjects and all the other powers vest with the Provinces there is little hope of an expansion of Union powers through the doctrine of inherent, implied, and ancillary powers.

OTHER MATTERS

Finally, we might consider the effect on Union powers of the definition of fundamental rights incorporated in the constitution. It has been stated that if fundamental rights incorporated in the Union constitution cover a wide field the Union Government would be automatically vested with large powers to ensure the observance of these rights in the territories of the Groups and the Provinces. To say this is, however, to misunderstand the working of federal constitutions. The declaration of fundamental rights would merely limit appropriately the legislative or the executive powers of the Union, Group or Provincial Governments. It would, however, not increase the power of one government while limiting that of the other. In a federal constitution where there is a division of powers between two coeval authorities the responsibility for seeing that powers are exercised within the proper limitations of the constitution does not rest with the Federal Government. The Provincial Government is not to be mistaken for a local government in a unitary State. In federal States the organ whose duty it is to limit action outside the constitutional sphere is inevitably the Judiciary. A large number of fundamental rights widely defined would increase work and powers of the Federal Judiciary but not that of the Government of the Union. A reference to the history of the interpretation of, for example, the 5th Amendment in the U. S. A. constitution will make this clear.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, the powers of the Indian Union would be confined strictly to the three subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. In times of war these powers would prove wide enough for most purposes and emergencies. In times of peace, on the other hand, the Union Government would

* Cameron: *The Canadian Constitution*, Vol. II, (1930), p. 15.

** See Clement: *Law of the Canadian Constitution*, (1916), p. 506.

prove to have little real power to influence the economic life and development of the country, except to the extent that this is influenced by decisions of international organizations and except in a subsidiary manner through control over communications. The treaty-making power and the power to raise finance are not likely to increase the sphere of influence of the Union. Resort to the doctrine of inherent, implied or ancillary powers would prove ineffective and a wide definition of fundamental rights will also not lead to any extension of the authority of the Union.

THE PALESTINE QUESTION: BACKGROUND AND SOLUTION

By EDWARD ATIYAH

THERE are two prevalent misconceptions about the Palestine problem, which it is essential to clear up at the beginning of any discussion of it, for until this is done it is impossible to understand the real issues involved.

The first of these two misconceptions is that the Arab opposition to Zionism in Palestine is a manifestation of anti-Semitism, and springs from racial hostility to the Jews. This is not the case at all. The Arabs' opposition to Zionism is a political opposition to a political threat and has nothing to do with racial feeling. It would have arisen whatever the race and nationality of the Zionists might have been, and it would have been just as determined and persistent. It is to the intentions of the Zionists and the manner in which they have come into the country that the Arabs object, not to the fact that they are Jews. Indeed the Arab world had been singularly free from anti-Semitism until the advent of political Zionism. Jewish communities had been living in all the Arab countries for centuries before 1917 as a normal part of the population, completely Arabized and differing from the Moslem and Christian Arabs only in that they belonged to a different religion. There had been no conflict between them and the rest of the population. They, for their part, had no political ambitions and did not claim a separate national status, while the Moslem majority treated them with tolerance and accepted them as a natural element in the native population. Often indeed when the Jews had been persecuted and massacred in Europe, they had found sanctuary in the Middle East.

The second misconception about the Palestine problem is that it is a conflict between two sections of the native population inherent in the structure of the country and resulting from internal conditions and natural evolution. Again this is not true. The Palestine problem is not a natural and chronic one, but a new, artificial and imported problem. Thirty years ago it did not exist. It was created by the British Government in 1917. Until that time Palestine was an entirely Arab country, an integral part of the Arab world. It was indeed merely the southern part of Syria and had never constituted a separate political entity. Its population was indistinguishable from their Arab kinsmen in the north or in any other part of the Arab world. A small Jewish commu-

nity lived in it, like the Jewish communities that lived in the other parts of the Arab world, but its presence did not constitute a political problem since there was no national conflict between it and the Arab population. By far the greater part of this small Jewish community consisted of indigenous, long established and completely Arabized Jews. Only about ten thousand were recent immigrants from various parts of Europe, but even they did not constitute a political problem because they had come into the country as individuals and with no political ambitions or any idea of claiming a special national status. Altogether there were less than 50,000 Jews in Palestine at that time as against 600,000 Arabs. Nor was it indeed in respect of numbers only, that Palestine was definitely an Arab country and nothing else before 1917. Its whole character and complexion, its language and customs were entirely Arab and had been so for centuries.

For centuries the Arab countries had been under Ottoman rule, but even in that state had preserved their identity as Arab lands and secured a share in the Ottoman Empire as equal partners with the Turks. Despite this, however, the Arabs became dissatisfied with their position in the Ottoman Empire and a liberation movement started among them towards the end of the 19th century aiming at complete independence. When the 1914 war broke out, the leaders of the Arab movement saw in it their chance of liberation from Turkey. At the same time Britain was anxious to secure the armed assistance of the Arabs against the Turkish and German forces in the Middle East, and so an agreement was concluded in 1916 between Hussein, Emir of Mecca and later King of the Hejaz, representing the Arab movement and Sir Henry McMahon, the British High Commissioner for Egypt at that time, representing the British Government, whereby in return for active participation in the war against Turkey, Britain promised to recognize Arab independence in all that part of the Arab world which was still under Ottoman rule, i.e., the eastern part of the Arab world lying beyond the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Two reservations were made by Britain when entering into this pledge, both clearly referring to the northern coastal district of Syria, i.e., the Lebanon, and having no bearing whatever on Palestine; and it was certainly in this sense that the Arabs understood them. Thus, the natural rights of the Arabs to Palestine as their country was confirmed by the British Government in a solemn and binding agreement as a result of which the Arabs revolted against Turkey and made a notable contribution to the Allied victory in 1918.

While, however, the Arabs were fighting side by side with the British in 1917, the British Government issued the Balfour Declaration by which it made certain promises to the Jews, which were entirely incompatible with both the rights of the Arabs in Palestine and the terms of the agreement which Britain had concluded with the Arabs only the year before. By this document, the British Government declared that they 'view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people' and stated that they would 'use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil or religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.'

The Balfour Declaration was issued as a result of the activities in Britain and America of the leaders of the Zionist movement. This movement had grown up among a section of world-Jewry in the few previous decades and aimed at the recreation of the Jewish nation in Palestine by immigration and the eventual establishment of a Jewish national State. Thus the Zionist movement was in its very essence and by the inevitable implication of its intentions an act of aggression against the Arabs as the native people of Palestine. For as George Antonius, the historian of the Arab movement has aptly put it in his book *The Arab Awakening*, it is impossible to make a national home for one people in a country inhabited by another, except by dislodging the latter. The Zionists base their claim to Palestine on the fact that their ancestors occupied a part of the country 2,000 years ago and this fantastic argument was made the basis of the Balfour Declaration.

The motives that prompted the British Government to issue this Declaration were many and various, but the most cogent among them were the following:—

- (a) Britain and the Allies were extremely anxious in that crucial year of World War I (1917) to win over to the Allied side the Jews of Germany and Central Europe.
- (b) The British Government was about to float a loan in America for the prosecution of the War and desired to enlist the support of certain Jewish American financiers who were interested in the Zionist movement.
- (c) The British Government believed that the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish commonwealth dependent on Great Britain would be a useful political and strategic asset to the British Empire.

The Arabs were alarmed and shocked when they heard of the Balfour Declaration, which had been issued without any previous consultation with them and even without their knowledge. They asked for an explanation of its meaning and were given not one, but several assurances by the British Government that Jewish settlement in Palestine would only be allowed so far as it did not interfere with the economic and political freedom of the Arabs. Soon, however, it became evident that what was intended was something quite different. Under the same influences that had procured its issue in the first instance by the British Government, the Balfour Declaration was incorporated in the mandate which Britain, by arrangement with the Allies, secured for Palestine.

Without any justification, save the arbitrary decision of the British and American Governments to recognize the Jewish claim to Palestine on the basis of their remote historical connexion with that country, Palestine was severed from Syria and a special Mandate devised for it, differing in terms from the Mandates for Syria, Lebanon and Iraq and fundamentally contravening the terms of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. All Mandates derive their authority from Article 22 of the Covenant of the League. Regarding the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire, Article 22 contained the following provision 'certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as

independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone.' According to this solemn pronouncement, Palestine was, without any shadow of doubt, entitled to its independence. Its people were one of the communities to which this paragraph referred, but under Zionist influence Palestine was precluded from its application. Its independence was not recognized, as was the independence of Syria, Lebanon and Iraq, and something entirely foreign to the needs and interests of its people was introduced into the Mandate framed for it, namely the establishment in it of a national home for the Jewish people.

Curiously enough, the first of the many commissions that have been appointed in the course of the last quarter of a century to inquire into the Palestine problem was a purely American body. This was the famous King-Crane Commission appointed by President Wilson in 1919 which went to Syria and Palestine to examine conditions on the spot and ascertain the wishes of the Arab population. It was the only attempt made by any of the Allies to apply the mandatory system in an honest manner and the result of its investigations was a clear and emphatic verdict against Zionism. The Commissioners dismissed the argument that the historical connection of the Jews with Palestine gave them the right to return to it against the wishes of its present population as 'something that cannot be taken seriously'. They gave it as their considered opinion that any attempt to carry out the Zionist programme would constitute an act of grave injustice against the Arabs, and would require the use of force on a large scale. Despite this warning, however, the British Government with the passive acquiescence of the League of Nations embarked on its long and disastrous attempt to help the Zionists carry out their programme in Palestine.

This programme, stripped of all camouflage, is nothing but a brutal attempt to take away Palestine from its native inhabitants and convert it into a Jewish national State. The attempt has been, and is being made, not by the local Jews of the country, but by Jewish immigrants coming mainly from central and eastern Europe. The Zionists have two main objects. The first is to go on bringing Jewish immigrants into Palestine until they become the majority in the country. The second is to acquire and colonize as much of the cultivable land of the country as they possibly can. The first object they have so far achieved through the agency of the Mandatory Power, that is to say by putting pressure on Britain to allow more and more immigrants to come in. The second object they have sought to achieve, and have in fact achieved to a considerable extent by tempting absentee landlords and debt-burdened peasants to part with their land for fabulous prices which the contributions of Jews in the different parts of the world make it possible for the Zionists to offer.

The Arabs are thus threatened with two great dangers: (a) their eventual reduction to a minority in their own country and (b) the loss of their land with the attendant creation of a class of landless peasants driven into the towns to swell the ranks of the proletariat.

From this analysis, it will be seen that the conflict in Palestine is not between two sections of the native population with equal rights to the country, but between the native people of the country defending their natural rights and a body of immigrants invading it with the set purpose of making it their own.

This struggle has now lasted for nearly a quarter of a century during which something like half a million Jews have been brought into the country in defiance of Arab wishes and against every form of Arab resistance. An acute national problem and a bitter form of national hatred have been created deliberately and artificially in a country which was free from any such before. An alien national community has been forcibly injected into a region which is otherwise a homogeneous Arab bloc. A new contest between east and west has been set up in a region which was the scene of similar wasteful struggles in past centuries, but which had been free from them since the Crusades. For 26 years Palestine has been rent by this conflict and will continue to be so as long as the Zionists persist in their attempt and continue to receive support from Britain and America.

This being the history of the problem and the position it has led to, what is the solution? The Zionists as we have seen demand the continuance of Jewish immigration and the setting up ultimately of a Jewish national State in the whole of Palestine. They realize, however, that they cannot achieve this until they become the majority in the whole country and so, for the time being, they are prepared to accept partition, i.e., the establishment of a Jewish national State in a part of Palestine, as a first step towards their ultimate goal. The British Government for their part have put forward a scheme which, while not conceding the Jewish demand for a national State, provides for something which might eventually lead to partition and a Jewish State. According to this scheme, the country is to be divided into two autonomous provinces, one Arab, one Jewish, and a central Federal Government is to be set up in which both the Arabs and Jews will be represented, but all real power will be in the hands of the Mandatory authorities, i.e., the British. As for immigration, the scheme provides for its continuance in the Jewish province.

The Arabs reject all these alternatives, both on grounds of principle and in detail. Continued immigration means for the Arabs a permanent threat that they will one day become a minority in their own country and alien subjects in a Jewish national State—an outcome which every Arab feels would be an outrage on the most elementary rights of the native people of Palestine and a serious menace to the stability of the Middle East. But the objection of the Arabs to a Jewish national State being set up in the whole of Palestine applies equally in principle to the idea of a Jewish State being set up in a part of the country, and indeed to any scheme such as the present British plan which aims at a division of the country and the granting to the Jews of a special national status in it, whether such national status is to be that of complete sovereignty, or something short of it. The grounds on which the Arabs base this objection are first, that the Zionists have no right to any such status or territorial rights in the country; second, that the granting of such a status

would prevent the development of the country as a unitary State and would therefore involve not only grave economic disadvantages, but also political perils; third, the fact that Zionism is an expansive aggressive movement which will not and cannot be satisfied with a part of the country nor with a qualified status falling short of sovereignty but which would use any such concessions as stepping stones towards its ultimate objective.

In the Arab view, the root cause of all the trouble has been all along the Zionists' confidence that they can obtain what they want in Palestine through British and American help, regardless of the Arabs' wishes. The first step, therefore, towards a solution is that Britain and America should desist from coercing the Arabs into accepting concessions which are fundamentally unjust merely in order to placate Jewish opinion.

Again, in the Arab view, no solution for the problem created by this Jewish incursion into Palestine can be either just or workable unless it satisfies the following conditions :—

1. It must recognize the right of the indigenous inhabitants of Palestine to continue in occupation of the country and to preserve its traditional character.
2. It must recognize that such questions as immigration which affect the whole nature and destiny of the country should be decided in accordance with democratic principles by the will of the population.
3. It must accept the principle that the only way by which the will of the population can be expressed is through the establishment of responsible representative government, based on the principle of absolute equality of all citizens irrespective of race and religion.
4. It must recognize the fact that by geography and history Palestine is inescapably part of the Arab world; that the only alternative to its being part of the Arab world and accepting the implications of its position is complete isolation, which would be disastrous from every point of view.

In accordance with these principles the Arabs urge the establishment in Palestine of a democratic government representative of all sections of the population on a footing of equality, the termination of the Mandate once the Government has been established, and the entry of Palestine into the Arab League and the United Nations Organization as a full member of the world community.

Pending the establishment of a representative Government, all further Jewish immigration should be stopped in pursuance of the principle that a decision on so important a matter should only be taken with the consent of the inhabitants of the country and that until representative institutions are established, there is no way of determining consent.

This is the only solution in the Arab view. Apart from being the only just and natural solution, it is the only one which offers any reasonable hope of future co-operation and stability in the country and the only one which would not bring into being dangerous complications and sow the seeds of future conflict. On a long-range view of things, it is impossible for a Jewish community, however large and well-organized, to maintain itself in Palestine

and develop its potentialities, if it is going to act in defiance of, and live in perpetual conflict with, the Arabs. The Palestine Arabs are not an isolated community. They belong to a nation of some 40 or 50 million people inhabiting all the countries around them. There can be no future for the Jews of Palestine if they permanently antagonize this large and developing Arab nation in whose midst they have gone to live. A small Jewish State or province created in defiance of Arab wishes and surrounded by a ring of hostile Arab States would be not only in a very insecure position itself but also a cause of dangerous tension and possibly conflict. The only hope for the Jews in Palestine lies in securing the goodwill of the Arabs and being willing to co-operate with them on a reasonable basis, and the only reasonable basis is that of a democratic unitary State in which the Arabs will remain the majority.

THE AIRMAN'S GEOGRAPHY

By LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR FRANCIS TUKER

SIRDAR K. M. PANIKKAR in his recent paper on an 'Indo-British Treaty' has mentioned that I have made an attempt to translate what has hitherto been our seafarer's geography into a modern geography of the airfarer. He weaves into his paper this new conception; so I think that it is pertinent that I should give the members of the Indian Council of World Affairs some short explanation* of this new geography.

You and I were taught geography in our school days in the terms in which the seafaring man has spoken of it from time immemorial.

I would ask you now to imagine yourself in a world in which everything moves by land and by air but in which nothing can move on the surface of the seas. There is no such thing as water flotation and Mankind has never conquered the secret of floating upon a liquid. Broad rivers can therefore only be crossed by land vehicles when bridges are dropped from bank to bank by airborne engineers.

There are armies which progress on the surface of the land and are carried through the air by aircraft; there are fleets of aircraft, both warcraft and merchant-craft. But there are no navies on the surface of the sea and there are no armies carried by sea transport. The air and the land are full of traffic but the surface of the sea is a desert on to which if anything drops it goes like lead to the bottom, or is dissolved by the water into an oily liquid.

That is the world, the planet that we should conceive as we read this paper. It is the planet of the airman, Icarus. Its history has been an Icarian history in which in the early days the air boats 'coasted' in short steps by day until later, with better navigation, the great 'ocean-going' air ships of war and peace

* As a soldier it is very necessary that in my explanation I should give this paper a military and strategic meaning, for in that way it will come more closely to be related to the paper written by K. M. Panikkar. If any reader wishes a fuller explanation then I would ask him to turn to an article by myself entitled, 'An Airman Views the World,' published in the Journal of the U.S.I. of India of October 1945. The article was written in 1944 but it was written with the coming of the atom bomb constantly in view.

flew out through the 'air oceans' in long non-stop voyages of thousands of miles. But still the water seas of the world had to be crossed through the air and not on the surface. The whole ways of the world, its manufactures and its raw materials, have been such that men, raw materials and the processed article have gone about the globe by air. Everything that is light and durable has been used and made; the heavy things have not entered into Man's ways of living and ways of doing.

Is it not quite probable that if you look far into the future you will see a world like this, for, the water ocean, though we have conquered it for thousands of years, may not be needed by us owing to the slowness of movement through its waters and the fact that Time may by then have been recognized to be the most vital commodity in the world both of commerce and war?

To the Icarian the geographical features of the world look like this.

A chain of small islands such as Great Britain, the Faroes, Iceland, is an isthmus connecting Europe with North America, for these small spaces of sea between those islands are of no account to the airman moving at seven hundred miles per hour. Almost in a flash he passes from one hospitable air harbour of land to the next. As he looks out to the right and to the left he sees to each side of him the inhospitable, barren, wide and fatal water seas which he regards as deserts, the Desert of the Arctic Ocean and the Desert of the Atlantic Ocean,—the Arctic and Atlantic Deserts. He himself is flying over an isthmus. His contemporary in the East in the same manner flies over the isthmus of Indonesia, which connects Asia with the peninsular of Australia. Note that he does not look at Australia as an island.

In war time the Icarian seeks always to take his air routes over the hospitable land masses or at least along the hospitable isthmuses of the world. He does not for instance happily fly out into the Pacific or Indian Oceanic Deserts.

If in peace time he does fly out into these great Deserts then he will notice here and there below him little islands far away from the mainland and he will regard them as you and I regarded yesterday the oases in the Sahara Desert. To him these are in fact oases in the sea desert, for on them he will get security from the dangers of the seas and hospitality to refresh himself and to harbour his craft.

There is no need in this short note to go through the whole gamut of our geographical terms. Let us take one term which is the most important. Let us explain the term 'island.'

What is an island to the Icarian? We will explain this mainly from its military aspect. Let us now look at that important military island of Great Britain—the island of yesterday, a part of the North Atlantic isthmus of to-day. In the sixteenth century it was said that England was lucky because she could take as much or as little of a war as she pleased. Since the eighteenth century the Island of Great Britain has occupied and still occupies a place among the three Great Powers of the world. Taking these two things together we are entitled to suppose that there is some intrinsic power for war in the mere geographical fact of being an island so long as the island is fertile and the

people are enterprising and determined. On this assumption it is worth while to examine the reason why sixteenth-century England was so fortunate that she could take as much or as little of a war as she pleased, since these advantages were due to her peculiar position as an island. Why had she these advantages?

Her insular position rendered her safe from land invasion and in the term 'land invasion' I include invasion from the sea. This security held good so long as that very economical means of protecting herself, her sea-going fleets, held the seas and prevented the land forces of her enemy passing across to her shores. It is surprising how consistent was her safety for she suffered no such invasion, so long as the Fifth Column was not active within her territory, from the year 1066 A. D. onwards till to-day. The fleets were a strength to her, were well within her resources to maintain and were a most economical way of making war. During these long years of security from incursion by land forces her country remained undisturbed; during the periods of war her people were able to continue their peacetime pursuits without interference and her rulers were able progressively and steadily without hindrance to build up her fighting power.

Thus safe from invasion of her land, she was able in wartime to feed her own population from her own resources and her food-stuffs were not ravished from her by plundering armies as they were ravished from the continental nations of Europe. Indeed, whenever she sent her armies abroad they lived on the country of another and not on her own land. Her few needs of hemp, pitch, wood, copper and iron for her fleets to keep the seas and to employ their weapons against the enemy's navies, were easily found.

The same fleets provided for her an area of warning, a broad outpost zone on the seas which gave her timely news of the movements towards her shores of an aggressive enemy. Thus it was that she needed for her defence only a navy backed by a small standing army and by the local militias raised from her counties. This was but little strain on her resources, either in material or in manpower.

Safe from molestation within her country, economically defended, able to live off her own resources, it might be expected and was indeed true that she could fight on unwearied through a longer war than her continental neighbours and that at the end of that long war she would emerge far fresher than the continental nation over the face of whose country armies had marched and counter-marched, fought and retreated, with all the accompaniment of loot, rapine, and destruction of the resources built up in times of peace. She could thus fight longer wars without a comparable weariness and she would be fresher to join battle again after a short interval if the demand was made upon her.

Put very shortly her advantages were three. Safety from disturbance during war; being self-contained for war; being defended economically. Subsidiary to these three main advantages was her possession of a good outpost zone in which to wear down her enemy and from which she gained news of his coming, of the strength of his forces and of the direction of his movements.

Now let us pass forward to 1946.

The phenomenon that has emerged from this last world war is that war is fought from the interior of one country into the interior of another rather than against its land borders. This holds true so long as the defending nation does not allow its land borders to lapse into a state of unusual weakness. We must assume that no first class power will allow such a lapse.

Britain's advantages of the sixteenth century have been thrown down in the following manner.

Bombing from the air, rocket attack and air-borne invasion reach into the interior of the erstwhile island and interfere fatally with the progress of the building up of the war potential. The sea about her has been rendered so narrow in Time by the movements of air forces and by their ability to throw out their bombardment in great strength to cover the movement of ships, that almost we may say that this sea has ceased to exist and that Britain is a part of the European mainland.

At the end of such a war the country will come out of it as shattered and as tired and as unable to recover rapidly as would be any continental nation living in a confined space. We have all seen in this war the enormous advantages of landspace to a country, which has been so well exemplified by the Russian resistance to the German onslaught. This island obviously lacks any such advantage.

Material for the conduct of the war has to be brought in over the seas and oceans of the world from all over the globe. It is an unsupportable strain on the nation's resources in the maintaining and securing of these sea lanes. Because of this immense commitment the productive resources of the country are thrown into this purely defensive rôle of holding open both by air and by sea these immense lines of communication. Thus it is that our navy, which was at one time an economic force for our defence and an economic means of casting forth our aggressive forces to take the war to our enemy, has become to us an uneconomic and fatal weakness in order to keep our country alive and our war effort in progress. Had the Germans handled their air-power properly against our sea lanes and developed it to destroy our vessels at sea then the story of this war would have been different. The population has grown immensely over that of the sixteenth century and it is notorious that we can only feed a fraction of it in times of war.

The outpost area has gone, for with continental air power overlooking Great Britain her sea fleets are driven back on their harbours and her air fleets should in theory be driven back by greater air power on to their air-fields.

Thus it is that all those things which went to make Great Britain a military island in the sixteenth century and until the coming of air power have now disappeared and she is no longer a military island. Only by regaining those advantages can she possibly regain the intrinsic strength for war which in this article I have associated with the mere geographical position of an island. She must again become insular and she can only become insular by, paradoxically, becoming continental. By throwing out her borders or in other ways

controlling, by alliances or agreement, the mountains of Norway, of Bohemia, of Austria, of Switzerland and the Pyrenees, she can regain the ability to hold back land invasion and also obtain the outpost area necessary to wear out and to get warning of an enemy airborne onslaught by bombing or airborne armies. Only in this way can she cover the seaways and airways from the west leading into her own country, thus drawing in the supplies necessary to conduct her war. Defence, with the considerable advantage of her increased military population by such a defence of her borders, would become once more reasonably economical for to a great extent it would lie on the passes of the mountains, the most formidable strategical barrier against land armies. The industrial war resources of her enlarged sphere of influence would be set fairly well back in West Germany, North France and in England itself.

To the West of insular Great Britain lie the great sea deserts of the Atlantic and these apart from the narrow isthmus through the Faroes, are a formidable frontier against airborne attack from the west.

Only thus, and then not entirely, can Great Britain restore her insular strength.

So, in a military sense, we now see what a modern island should be. We have regarded it in the main from the point of view of the airfarer and so I would be so bold as to suggest that we might say that for all purposes, besides military purposes, such an Island is an Airfarer's Island. It is not the narrow seas which divide one country from another and turn it into an island, it is the great tangled masses of mountains and the very wide ocean expanses, both of which are most inhospitable to the airman, which make a modern island.

These tests which we have applied to Britain we will apply now to other areas of the world.

Australia, we have shown, is not an island; it is a peninsular from S. E. Asia. Japan is only a prominent cape sticking out from Manchuria and Siberia. New Zealand we will accept as an island for a year or two yet. As the range of aircraft increases so will New Zealand become a cape or a peninsular jutting out from Australia. For war purposes, even to-day, New Zealand does not possess the resources within her country, including the size of population, which would make her a military island of any consequence.

Incidentally, the North West coast of Africa is a part of Europe, and Siberia is not divided from Alaska by the insignificant Bering Straits but is divided by the inhospitable mountains of East Siberia and North Alaska.

Where then are the great islands of the world to-day?

Sir Halford Mackinder in the early days of this century, examining the age-old conflict between the seafarer and the landsman and between the ploughman and the nomad, has shown that the land space from east of the Yenisei river roughly to the Baltic and Poland, south to Rumania thence eastwards again to the Tien Shan Mountains and north-east along the great mountain barrier,—that that great area, if properly developed by a sufficient population, is the heart of the power of the whole world,—the Heartland of what he terms the World Island. Our investigations in this paper would not entirely agree with that conclusion although it is very significant that the disagreement is not so very great.

Applying the tests we applied to sixteenth century England we find that the area from the east of the Yenisei river bounded by the Arctic Ocean, the Ural mountains, perhaps taking in the modern industrial areas of Kuibishev, bounded on the south by the Caucasus, the Elburz mountains and thence along the Tien Shan north-eastwards to the Altai mountains, possesses one of the most powerful insular situations in the whole world. Its resources are immense, even uranium being found in the Ural mountains.

Applying our tests once more we find that some of the other insular areas, 'air islands' in fact, are these.

The land contained within the outer mountains of Burma, the Himalayas, Pamir, the mountains of Afghanistan and Baluchistan,—this land is another island. It has a great chance of being self-supporting with its oil and other valuable raw materials. It cannot, however, with the broad Australian isthmus to its south-east afford to ignore the possibility of a hostile airpower controlling that isthmus and entering Australia, and so the Insular India which I have just described must extend its air boundaries to look in on that isthmus and have air bases in the Philippines and Indo-China; thus leaving only the Pacific oases by which an enemy could approach and so, incidentally, procuring for Australia many of the benefits of insularity. Similarly Insular India must extend its influence well into the Persian Gulf. These countries to East and West of our island must be kept friendly. Insular India is the natural air transit centre of the East; so its air routes must be protected by these friendly territories and be kept well back from them.

Another island which emerges from this crucible is the Island of Africa whose northern boundary runs approximately from the northern mountains of Abyssinia across to about Senegal on the west coast. South of that line is a potential insular power but its people must be built up into an united and determined people with a common way of living.

We have now seen in this paper four air islands. If we assume that all these four are areas of considerable power and if we imagine a war breaking out between them then we must consider each one as a fortress area in the same manner as in the past we would have considered the north Italian Quadrilateral as a fortress area. Within the fortress area there would be the self-contained constituent fortresses, just as each city of the Quadrilateral was a self-contained constituent fortress. War would be fought out between these island powers and the most important military feature would be the islands themselves; the country between them and the seas between them would only be incidental to the campaign. The vital thing would be the island fortress and we would see one opponent launching his whole effort for the subjugation of the enemy constituent fortresses and then of the whole island fortress itself and lastly sending forth his invading forces to occupy what might be left of his enemy's homeland.

In considering such a war it is well to realize that by far the greatest part of the world's land masses lie north of the Equator. The airman loves the land and hates the sea for it is from the land that he draws his sustenance. He gets nothing from the sea. Nearly the whole of the effective airpower of the

world will be north of the Equator. Much of it will go to war over the Arctic Circle, using the frozen lands about the North Pole and throughout the Arctic. The day will come when winged Man will find little to impede him in the weather or in the ice-bound islands of the Arctic.

There are other islands besides those which I have enumerated and the reader will be interested to look for them himself.

This short paper should be enough to show that our conceptions of geography, both of pure geography and of strategical geography, must now undergo a drastic change. Even the terms that we, inheritors of the world of the Mariner, have used for all these thousands of years in order to make ourselves understood the one with the other, must undergo a change.

For the soldier all is now different.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IDEAS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

I

THE GANDHIAN APPROACH TO ECONOMICS

By J. C. KUMARAPPA

ANYTHING Gandhian must necessarily be a derivative of Truth and Non-violence. Therefore, Gandhian economics must be economics purged of untruth and violence. Hence to study this subject we shall have to pause a while to search our present organizations for manifestations of untruth and violence in our economic dealings with our fellows.

Gandhiji is not interested in a purely academic treatment of a subject. At every turn he is anxious to see how our action tells on our neighbours. He does not look at life in watertight compartments but as one whole. Therefore, the moral and social implications of economic activity cannot be considered apart from economics.

As every schoolboy has learnt, economics is a science which deals with how man goes about to satisfy his needs. This activity will bring man into frequent touch—co-operation or conflict—with his fellows. Gandhian economics will strive to enunciate principles which when carefully followed will allow man to satisfy his needs without injuring his neighbours, and at best, while helping his fellowmen.

Our considerations cannot cease there. We have also to follow how the man reacts to his own work. Our daily round of duties is as much a part of ourselves as our physical body. Man expresses himself by his work and at the same time builds his personality by his acts whether such acts be classified moral, political, social or economic. Hence what occupations we follow is not merely a means of earning our daily bread but is a form of a very effective method of adult education.

Taken in this setting, the standards of value we use cannot be purely materialistic. They have to measure the repercussions of man's activity in the

different spheres of life; which will naturally mean that money consideration can never have the final word in deciding the questions that face us.

Beyond the pale of human society are our mute brethren who minister to our needs—animals, birds etc.—which have also to be dealt with consideration. The land we draw our sustenance from, the water, sunlight, air and the rest of the physical world claim our attention and regard while we strive to satisfy our needs. If we fail to consider these factors nature will retaliate with violence in the form of pain, disease and death.

Taking all these factors into consideration man has to pick his way through skilfully so as to obtain the greatest benefit to himself with the least harm to others and the minimum of disturbance of the natural order. The ideal position would be where man works in complete alignment with Nature. The bird eats a fruit and flies away. In the normal course it passes out the seeds, perhaps, miles away from the place where it found the fruit. Thus while it was only satisfying its primary need of hunger it also helped the vegetable kingdom to broadcast the seeds—it provided the transport. In this manner the bird and the tree are co-operating to mutual benefit in fulfilling the ways of Nature. This system alone eschews violence; it ensures smooth working and makes for harmony. Such should be the economic activity of men also if it is to bring about goodwill and peace among men and lead to the real progress of mankind.

Keeping this approach in mind we shall have to examine the prevalent systems of economic production, exchange and consumption to see how far they are capable of answering these requirements and where they have to be abandoned, amended or accepted.

PRODUCTION

Until about two hundred years ago, up to the advent of what has come to be called 'The Industrial Revolution,' the whole world was engaged in producing goods with the use of small tools, by the application of a large amount of human skill and labour to raw materials available in the vicinity of the producer. Generally the products were meant for local consumption. Violence had no integral part in this form of economic activity. Units of production were generally small, owned by individuals or small groups in partnership.

Centralized Industries :—The Industrial Revolution brought about a great many changes in the organization of such units. Much capital was sunk in bringing into industrial use many of the inventions to produce standardized articles on a mass scale. This brought a new orientation of economics mainly if not solely, based on material considerations.

Guarding Ocean Routes :—Expensive plant and machinery were located in one place and raw materials from far off places were brought to feed these machines. The goods produced were again shipped to the four corners of the earth to find markets. These two new functions—of securing raw materials and finding markets—raised the need for the Army and Navy to guard the ocean routes.

Raw Materials :—Later it was found that to work these machines economically they would have to be worked throughout the year steadily. This meant the machine owners had to have control over the life and work of the raw material producers to guarantee a steady stream of grist to the mills.

Markets :—In the same way, to ensure the disposal of the enormous output made possible by this mode of production it was convenient to have the possible markets also under control. These two considerations gave rise to the modern conception of politico-economic imperialism founded on violent conquest and political subjection of unindustrialized countries misnamed backward countries.

Thus it will be seen that the introduction of centralized methods of production has made the industrial nations a menace to the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

Armaments :—Owing to the need of violence, basic to this method of production, the manufacture of armaments for mass slaughter—called global wars—became the theme of scientists and inventive engineers. This, in a system based on competition, brought about the race in armaments.

Glorification of Violence :—Generally speaking, the man in the street is peace loving. He will not enlist to kill others. Hence, if the Forces were to have recruits for international murder such acts have to be glorified or deified. To meet this situation a social set of values was evolved giving enviable status to members of these Forces. This brought into the service of the manufacturers deception or untruth.

Indispensability of Untruth :—Then to cultivate the markets to use up the articles put out by the factories advertisements were designed with little regard to truth.

At the time of actual conflict, to set one nation against another a whole range of propaganda material was prepared to spread hatred and suspicion, poisoning the international atmosphere.

Abimsak Swadeshi :—The above brief survey of the changes brought about in international relations by the introduction of centralized industries shows that violence and untruth have captured pivotal positions in the economic life of the people when they depend on these industries for satisfying their daily needs. If we do not wish to be parties to such violence and untruth then we should dissociate ourselves from such industries by neither supplying them with raw materials nor using their finished products. In thus non-co-operating in their activities we are not 'putting the clock back' as it is usually alleged. We are seeking to apply moral and spiritual values in economics.

EXCHANGE

With mass production the problem of disposal of goods assumes formidable proportions. Long distances, strange countries and quaint customs stood in the way. These had to be overcome.

Merchant Shipping :—The most convenient method adopted was to own and control the shipping so that their freight may be well managed to avoid wastage. When outward bound the ships can take finished goods and may

not return empty but bring in raw materials. This shipping needed the strong support of a Navy.

Trusteeship :—Similarly, the strange countries could be 'civilized' to come into line with modes known to the manufacturing countries. Nations are not in the habit of changing their customs overnight. Hence the need for 'peaceful penetration' schemes, talk of guardianship of 'backward races,' trusteeship of 'undeveloped' areas etc. These programmes were put into execution by strong armed forces against the will of weaker nations.

Place of Money :—If markets are at great distances then problems of currency arise. The whole of this mass production and exchange will come to a standstill if commodities were to exchange for commodities. This gave rise to the development of money exchange to such a degree that money has now assumed the rôle of an end in itself, eclipsing the real value of commodities. Production for consumption has changed its character and has become production for exchange.

A Smokescreen :—A farmer whose cow produces milk will sell every drop of it without retaining any for the calf or his children because he gets money for it! The real consideration that should guide his decision should be the nutrition afforded by the milk. By depriving his children of a wholesome food product he is cashing in the future health of his own children. Emphasis on money has befogged his vision.

CONSUMPTION

Mass production takes place without any relation to demand. Hence, periodically a glut of goods comes about. This is cleared by violence. By untruthful advertisement a demand is created for the existent supply. People are made to want a number of things of which they do not stand in need. It is like drugged cigarettes given out free to create the habit. When the habit is formed, however illegal it may be, the market is assured. That is all that is required by the manufacturer.

Unintelligent Fashions :—At present, in our country, great efforts are being put forth to accustom people to using artificial ghee made out of vegetable oil. The oil mills produce oils with a tendency to turn rancid which they deodorize, decolorize and hydrogenate. These processes destroy the usual colour and smell people have traditionally associated with pure, cold, pressed vegetable oil. They also destroy the nutritive value of natural oil. To remedy the defects of the mill oil, they try to change the taste of the people by advertising the new product as being the best to use. To make up for the nutritive values lost they add fish fat unknown to the customers, but content themselves by a mere statement that the oil has been 'vitaminized'. Thus the oilmen are done out of their occupation, the consumers not only cheated of their food products but mulcted of their purchasing power.

Thus mass production tries to control demand by setting up fashions even injurious to the consumers. Often people are led away and they are made to part with their purchasing power in exchange for trinkets at a time when they may be facing starvation. In our land, the village people have very

little financial sense and hardly know how to lay out their annual income. In these circumstances the ways chosen by centralized industries to empty the pockets of our poor people verge on fraud and loot.

Self-sufficiency :—At least all primary needs of food, clothing and shelter must be met by local supply. The demand itself should not be intensified at the cost of real need. The demand for white polished rice or pure sugar can only be satisfied at the cost of nutritive values. When local production takes care of local demand such ill-conceived demands will fall to a minimum.

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

The fabulous wealth of a few at the top in India and the grinding poverty of the rest of the nation is a well known factor. This situation places in the hands of a few the right of employment if our industries are organized on the availability of capital. Centralized industries thus tend to create an impossible situation in a country already facing perennial unemployment and underemployment on a mass scale. The situation in a country where labour is plentiful calls for an organization which will make the best of this source of wealth. Cottage industries distribute wealth while centralized industries concentrate wealth; therefore we have to go in for the former and not for the latter.

Prices and Costs of the Product :—The industrialist's interest lies mainly in profit. Very often the prices of his products are fixed by the competition of other manufacturers. That being so if he has to increase his profit he cannot do so by increasing the price. The only way open to him is to lower the cost. The cost is made up of overhead charges, labour wages and raw materials. The first and the third also, being subject to market conditions, have no elasticity in them. Wages, being determined by contract with persons whose bargaining power is low, are easily assailed. The result is that wages usually have to bear the brunt of any increase in profits on lowering of prices. Therefore, control of prices at a low level in a standardized article of mass production will generally affect the profit only if the wages are also fixed.

On the other hand the cost of the product in a decentralized industry is made up only of the cost of raw materials. The difference between such cost and the price of the product represents the return to the workers. Hence fixing the price of such an article will normally lower the return the worker gets.

In our country, where the wages are already low, such price fixing in large scale industries may have the effect of lowering the profits of the manufacturer which may be desirable but fixing prices at the same low level of competing products of decentralized industries may result in lowering the already low return the worker gets. In other words, price fixing in large scale industries may restrict accumulation of wealth which is good and price fixing for similar village made articles will restrict distribution of wealth which is bad. Hence our objective for village products should be to raise their prices.

TRANSPORT

Where mass production is the order of the day transport becomes an im-

portant factor. There are different results obtainable from good transport. It may drain the country of all products if no safety valve is allowed for and we resort to quick moving means of transport such as Railways, Motor lorries etc. Movement of goods in competition may also lead to violence. If such transport systems are restricted to perishable articles like fruits and fish and are again confined to only proved surpluses of such commodities, then they may be functioning in their proper field. But today, irrational movement of goods has created such a phenomenon that in fruit growing areas the local population gets next to nothing of fruits in their daily diet.

In some localities, like Anand district in Gujarat, which produces milk, Government had granted sole buying rights to exporters to Bombay which created milk scarcity in the producing areas themselves. These are maladies caused by man's greed made possible by the quick transport with refrigeration facilities. As long as man's nature remains selfish it would be foolish to furnish facilities which are more open to misuse than to rational use. Transport is a double-edged sword which can only be properly wielded by the exercise of self-discipline and self-control. In an economy based on self-indulgence and self-gratification such instruments have proved to function anti-socially.

Trade Implications:—Buses etc. provide a wide market for dealers in petroleum, oil and such imported products. Therefore, the bulk of the running expenses forms a steady drain on the purchasing power in a country like ours which has to import even the vehicles. Thus the main part of freights and fares paid for such transport provides employment to foreigners while it destroys the chances of local slow moving transport like the horse or bullock-drawn vehicles, which are benefactors of many local side industries. In transport of timber, which requires time to season, there is no functional benefit derived by employing quick moving transport.

In an agricultural country, animal transport fulfils the requirements of the cycle of nature and fits into the economy at every point.

STANDARDS OF VALUE

We have already seen how money standard, used without restriction, leads to the growth of violence, the introduction of untruth in commerce and the irrational use of our productive capacity. While the country is facing death from starvation its resources are being concentrated on growing tobacco. In a poor country living on the very verge of subsistence the value that we must adopt must be human need and nutrition rather than exchange value.

Price Mechanism:—Whatever prices may be offered in the market for eggs, for instance, an egg is an egg both for the prince and the pauper nutritionally. Any transfer of an egg from a starving pauper to a prince just because of the price offered is a social crime of the worst type. A great deal of modern commerce is based on the price mechanism, pure and simple, without any regard for the needs of the buyer.

Artificial Demand:—Material welfare is not the end of life. Therefore, creating a multiplicity of wants tends to confuse issues and lay emphasis on

things the manufacturers wish to palm off to the public by introducing new modes and fashions. This will result in cultural malformation because of the false values set up to create the demand so as to clear the stock on hand.

Other Standards:—Our life should be regulated by various standards of value calculated to promote the manifold aspects of human life—moral values, cultural values, artistic values and physical and nutritional values. When properly directed life will run in channels which will enrich human existence by following Nature's cycle instead of short circuiting it and producing violence as a result of it.

FUNCTION OF WORK

In the natural order, we observed earlier, work furthers the course of Nature. In the example cited above, the bird has no consciousness of helping Nature, when it passes out the seed of the fruit it has eaten, miles away from the parent tree, that it is in any way obliging Nature. It functions normally, and Nature has designed its normal function to fulfil itself. In the same way man's activity should follow the course of Nature if it is to be of any advantage to the whole creation.

The Objective:—The purpose of work does not end with its attaining the immediate objective. When a carpenter makes a carved table with various patterns designed by him, he no doubt produces a beautiful piece of furniture. But the major part of his work, like the base of an iceberg, lies under the surface. While working at this artistic material his imagination has been exercised along with his thinking powers, his muscles have attained greater accuracy in handling his tools, his sense of the beautiful would have developed simultaneously. Thus the carpenter would be a superior personality after executing his design materially than before launching on that project.

Promotion of Culture:—The circle does not end there. By providing the public with objects on which they can exercise their judgment and pronounce it by the way their patronage is given, the worker helps in the development of their taste and by his further efforts to give form to their desires he co-operates in developing a national culture. Such are the far-reaching consequences of an artisan's work-a-day routine acts. These are completely vulgarized by standardized mass production which only caters for the immediate and that again by ignoring the demands of custom. Thus it occasions an incalculable loss to the progress of mankind.

Development of Personality:—Decentralized industries have no specialized staff to deal with their multifarious problems. The artisan himself has to study the sources of raw materials, the demand of the public, and devise ways and means of meeting the needs of the situation. This struggle develops the personality of the worker, while the centralized methods present the labourer with single cut and dried operations which call for no initiative on their part—theirs but pull levers and join the broken threads. This is a pure form of drudgery which strains our nervous system. Man is not a mechanical device designed to carry out an isolated operation. He has to exercise all the faculties Nature has generously endowed him with. If he fails to use

them he is doomed to deterioration. Hence decentralized industries afford facilities for the full development of the human being.

When a person goes all out to indulge his senses there is no growth. Growth is a product of the regulated exercise of powers we are endowed with. It calls for self-discipline and self-control. The individual artisan cannot exist without constantly weighing the probabilities of his acts and order them in such a way as to achieve his purpose.

The Incentive:—Competition governs the world of centralized industries. When this is let loose it ushers in the jungle law and ultimately produces destruction. Man is a social animal. His development can be conditioned healthily only by co-operation governing his mutual relationships in his pursuits to satisfy his primary needs. Similarly, profit motives, when uncontrolled, lead to fratricidal wars.

Education:—In these ways the creative element in work can be properly utilized to educate man to grow to the full stature he is capable of. It is here that we find the roots of the 'Basic Education System' sponsored by Mahatma Gandhi. This system aims at harnessing the educative possibilities of man's normal activities to satisfy his everyday needs to the chariot of progress from the cradle to the grave.

Democracy:—In the political world we crave for freedom for the individual and democracy for society. This can only be achieved by training every member of society to assume full responsibility for his actions. No field is better suited for this purpose than the economic arena where a man has every opportunity to develop himself through decentralized industries as we have observed in the foregoing paragraphs. Therefore as a training ground for preparing the individual for Swaraj there is no instrument as potent as the industries working on decentralized basis.

The centralised industries require regimented labour which has no use for individual judgment. The bulk of the workers have only to carry out instructions. This crushes any personality that may already be there and so forms an ideal training ground for pure dictatorships.

Our Experience:—The Western nations, which have been pursuing their economic life harnessed to centralized industries, have been declaring from housetops that they are democracies in political life. Yet when the emergency arose at the time of World War II they quickly plumped for autocracy and thorough going dictatorships because they realized that their much vaunted paper democracy of peace time cannot weather the storm of war. This was not a matter of coincidence or chance. Communist Russia, imperialistic Great Britain, industrialized America, Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and expansionist Japan found themselves strange bedfellows under dictatorships, under belligerency. This state of affairs was the natural consummation of centralized industries in the economic sphere. The sheep's clothing of professed democracy dropped off and the wolves were revealed in all their ugliness of dictatorship for which type of Government the population of these countries, through decades, had been prepared to offer unthinking

obedience rather than to express their disciplined will through their representatives.

The Lesson:—Let, therefore, India beware. We clamour for independence and democracy and we also hear loud voices calling for industrialization of the country by adopting centralized methods of production. Do we realize the contradiction in these two demands? We cannot have decentralization in politics—which is democracy—and yet have centralization in the economic sphere which is unadulterated dictatorship. We must be sure of the destination to which our road will lead us to before we undertake the arduous journey. Are we prepared to learn from the experience of the Western nations and of Japan? If we benefit by the tragedies of two Global Wars, India may yet lead the world to peace and non-violence.

PLACE OF CENTRALIZED INDUSTRIES

Our foregoing analysis has shown that as far as our country is concerned and under conditions prevailing at present the only form of economic organization that is desirable is the decentralized system giving the individual citizen full scope for his development without injuring his fellow men.

It may be asked 'Is there no place in this system for centralized industries at all?' We meet our requirements for the wellbeing of our bodies both by the utilization of staple foods and poisons. The former we take in a generous measure in the form of food as dictated by our sense of taste. When serious pathological conditions demand it we also partake of poisons, such as quinine etc. But this latter is taken not by being made into *ladus* weighing several ounces but in minute pills of few grains as prescribed by the physician. Similarly, we may, for certain key industries, natural monopolies, and public utilities, use centralized methods and large-scale manufacture, in spite of the evil effects they may produce in society. While doing so we have to sterilize them completely of all profit incentive by socializing such industries and running them on a service basis, being fully conscious all the time that they are allowed to exist by sufferance and as a matter of compromise. This course will put us on our guard and we shall be ever vigilant to curb any evil manifestation at the very outset.

CONCLUSION

Thus the Gandhian approach to Economics is through the avenue of Truth and Non-violence. Its goal is not pure material benefit but the advancement of humanity on its road to progress by strengthening the character and the individual development of personality of every single person engaged in such activity. No one's gain should be anybody's loss—financial, physical, moral or spiritual. If there is to be a choice, the preference should fall on the eternal constituents of man rather than on the material.

At a time when humanity is groaning under the crushing burden of wars and struggling with the nightmare of a terrifying future the course indicated by the unerring fingers should come as a solace to all who seek happiness, real prosperity and peace and goodwill among nations,

FREEDOM OF THE AIR

By GAGANVIHARI L. MEHTA

THE recent controversy between U.S.A. and Yugoslavia in regard to the passage of certain American planes over Yugoslavian territory has drawn pointed attention to one of the vital issues in the international world today, namely, the question of 'freedom of the air'. This question has attained importance because of the rapid and tremendous development of air transport. The right of passage through air has become as important and controversial a matter as passage through land or sea. It is of interest to recall that over 300 years ago the famous Dutch lawyer, Hugo Grotius, attacked the right of any nation to close the seas to trade in his essay *Mare Liberum*—"The Freedom of the Seas." The British, however, at that time claimed lordship of vast tracts of sea and consequently employed a notable English jurist, John Selden, to defend the case for monopoly areas. His book *Mare Clausum*—"The Closed Sea"—was an endeavour to answer Grotius' argument in international law. Similarly, with the development of a new form of transport in this century and particularly during the last 25 years, the principle of 'freedom of the air' is being evolved.

The Paris Convention of 1919 laid down the principle of complete and exclusive sovereignty over the air space above the territory of a country including national territory of the mother country and of the colonies as well as territorial waters adjacent thereto. Each contracting State, however, undertook in times of peace to accord 'freedom of innocent passage' above its territory to the aircraft of other contracting States. Nearly 32 States, including India, signed the International Convention for the Regulation of Air Navigation. Similar provisions were also embodied in the Havana Convention of 1928 which covered the field for U.S.A. and a number of American States. But while both these Conventions provided for freedom of innocent passage, they did not define the word 'innocent.' The International Commission for Air Navigation (C.I.N.A.) recommended in 1935 that States should prescribe prior authorization for landing only as a temporary and exceptional measure with the object of affording every facility to aircraft. Generally speaking, it may be observed that international air law has been founded on the theory that the whole of the air space above any State is subject to its absolute sovereignty. Freedom of innocent passage applies to private flying and excludes international services which require the approval of every State crossed even if no landing is made.

The principal reason for this claim of national sovereignty over air has been, of course, the fear of aggressive action from the air owing to the close inter-connexion between civil and military aircraft. Civil aviation like merchant shipping has become an integral part of national defence and therefore an instrument of national policy. During international discussions on disarmament in the inter-war years it was found that the abolition or limitation of military aircraft was not feasible without some form of international con-

trol over civil aviation on the one hand and over the manufacture of aircraft on the other. The Cadman Report of 1938 declared, for example, that 'the problem of the air is one of the two sides of a single coin and the military aspect of aviation cannot fundamentally be separated from the civil aspect'. There are, no doubt, technical difficulties in interchangeability between military and civil aircraft; it is impossible, for example, to improvise a fighter aircraft from any class of civilian plane or adapt a transport aircraft for bombing. But although the divergence between military and civil types of aircraft is increasing, the fact remains that the use of aircraft for transport of troops, munitions, guns and even tanks is likely to develop to an enormous extent in future. In other words, civil aviation like merchant shipping is becoming a second line of defence—a feeder, a training ground and an auxiliary instrument. The fundamental problem, however, is to safeguard different countries against the use of civil aviation for war purposes while encouraging its development for peaceful uses.

It was in the light of experience gained during the war that efforts were made to evolve some sort of international policy for post-war air transport, a policy broadly expressed by the term 'freedom of the air'.*

The expression involves issues which relate to commercial flying and are rooted in economic rivalries and national interests. 'Freedom of the air' is related to conflicts on the ground. Indeed, as has been observed in an interesting article in *Fortune* (November 1945), the more closely the questions of air transport are examined, the more terrestrial the subject becomes. It is not the air-man winging his way across vast distances above the clouds but the commercial operator who is fighting for his place in the sun against other operators either in his own country or in foreign lands that is at the root of the problem.

The International Civil Aviation Conference held at Chicago in November 1944 and attended by delegates of 52 countries has taken this question of 'freedom of the air' a stage further. Soviet Russia was the only important exception as she did not send representatives to this Conference. Soviet Russia has hardly allowed any air services over her territory. The Soviet's aviation policy is still a question mark and the explanation is to be sought in its general political outlook. Since Chicago, Russia has been invited to participate in the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization and a seat is being kept open for her.

The Chicago Conference had before it principally three or four proposals in regard to post-war aviation. The first was by New Zealand with the support of Australia for the establishment of a single international corporation in which every nation should participate. At the other end, was the U.S.A. stand in favour of free and unfettered competition by various countries on

*There is a story that this term was first used during negotiations between U.S.A. and Britain in the course of an informal talk which Mr. Harry Hopkins had with Lord Beaverbrook. Lord Beaverbrook referred to the doctrine of 'open' versus the 'closed sky'. Hopkins replied that if any programme was to be 'sold' in U.S.A., it would have to have the word 'freedom' in it. U.S.A. would, it appeared, be interested in 'selling' this 'freedom of the air.'

all the airways of the world and an international air organization limited in powers to technical standards with only consultative functions in the economic sphere. The British proposal, on the other hand, was for an international air authority with broad powers to control and regulate air traffic through a system of licensing functioning somewhat on the lines of the Civil Aeronautics Board of U.S.A. or the Air Transport Licensing Board in India. Since these differences could not be reconciled, Canada, in the familiar rôle of a mediator, endeavoured to find a *via media* between the divergent British and U.S.A. views because New Zealand's proposals for internationalization of civil aviation did not find any support. Canada worked out an elaborate plan of international co-operation and it is the Canadian plan which is the source of the famous 'five freedoms of the air' which occupied the attention of the Chicago Conference and are now the basis of international agreements. The work of international air commerce was split up into five elements now known as the 'five freedoms.' These were as under:—

1. Freedom for peaceful commercial aircraft to fly through the air of another country, although they might be required to follow certain lines for reasons of safety or military security.
2. Freedom for such aircraft to land in other countries at agreed ports solely for the purpose of refuelling and overhaul, but not to take on or discharge commerce.
3. Freedom to carry traffic from the plane's country of origin to any other country (i.e., for Indian planes to carry passengers from India to say, U. K.).
4. Freedom to pick up in other countries traffic destined for the plane's homeland (i.e., for Indian planes on landing in U.K. to carry people back to India).
5. Freedom for a foreign plane to carry traffic between countries outside its own (i.e. for Indian planes to land in, say, Egypt, pick up passengers, fly to Italy, take passengers and then fly to U.K.).

The Canadian proposal indicated a line of compromise as between U.S.A. and Britain but eventually did not completely succeed.

What were the results of the Chicago Air Conference? In the first place, the Conference reached an agreement on a method of international organization calling for an air council and for annual air meetings. Its main achievement was to set up this provisional organization called the 'Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization' (Picao) to consider any question affecting international air but with no power over the regulation of air traffic. Secondly, the Conference reached a number of separate agreements on technical questions concerning standards in subscribing countries on such matters as lighting air fields, navigational aids, etc. which were irreverently known as the 'nuts and bolts' Agreement. As La Guardia, the famous ex-Mayor of New York, remarked at the time, 'everybody was against bad weather' at the Conference. It was, indeed, ironically remarked by another observer that 'we settled everything at Chicago except the question of traffic through the air.'

The Chicago Conference also arrived at an agreement popularly known as the 'Two Freedoms' (or Transit) Agreement by which those nations which

signed it exchanged among themselves the privilege of going through the air of one another's country in reasonably direct routes along with the privilege of landing for refuelling, repair and the like. By 10 January, 1945 this document had been signed by representatives of 29 nations whose area included more than half of the area of the globe and an overwhelming majority of its population. The second instrument devised at the Conference is known as the 'Five Freedoms' (or Transport) Agreement which consists of mutual exchange of privileges not only to transit but also to take on and discharge traffic including traffic *en route*. This Agreement was the real bone of contention on which no compromise could be arrived at in the Conference. Britain and U.S.A. could not agree because while U.S.A. has had the largest civil air fleet in the world, U.K., because of its concentration on the production of military aircraft during war, has not been in a position to compete on free and equal terms with U.S.A. The U.S.A. Delegation contended that the right of picking up passengers on the way is essential if long lines are to be maintained since air lines like shipping lines subsist not merely on traffic from the homeland to other countries and back but also on traffic between points on the way. A U.S.A. plane, for example, which flies to India via Britain and the Middle East might otherwise be practically empty at the point of destination. On the other hand, the British feared that if U.S.A. planes were allowed to pick up an unlimited number of passengers on the through routes, they would cripple British operations especially throughout the Empire. Britain was vitally concerned in protecting its pre-war 'red routes of the Empire' and leaned towards regulation of air commerce by an international body. The Fifth Freedom Agreement was the result of the Canadian proposal. Up to March 1945, the Fifth Freedom Agreement had been signed by some 18 nations including most of the South American countries, China, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark and Iceland. The Fifth Freedom Agreement has not been signed by Ireland and Switzerland. The U.S.A., however, has also negotiated bilateral air agreements with Turkey, Egypt and Belgium and has been seeking to arrive at similar agreements with Syria, Lebanon and Iraq. So far as U.K. is concerned, U.S.A. has an agreement with it since 1944 which was revised early this year at Bermuda. The U.S.A. has recently found, however, that only two of the fourteen countries which have accepted the agreement, namely, Sweden and the Netherlands, have developed international air services to any extent. The result is that U.S.A. has decided that it would be better to have bilateral agreements for its air services rather than depend upon the Fifth Freedom Agreement. The disagreement at Chicago centred round the powers which the proposed international authority should be given. The question is one of evolving an 'order in the air,' but it is because of the tremendous growth and potentialities of air power and the relative inequalities of different countries and especially Britain and U.S.A. in the sphere of civil aviation that the Chicago Conference could not achieve anything in the nature of either a definite agreement ensuring complete 'freedom of the air' as demanded by U.S.A. or some sort of control and regulation of aviation as desired by Britain. The prob-

lem is one of military as well as economic security and under modern conditions, it becomes difficult to understand where commerce ends and empire begins.

What about India in this context? India occupies a vital position on the main air route from East to West. She is a signatory to the Paris Convention of 1919 already referred to and the Government have granted the right of passage through the country on the basis of reciprocal rights for Indian air services, when required, and latterly with the reservation of 'cabotage' traffic, i.e., reservation of internal air traffic to Indian lines. An Indian official delegation attended the Chicago Conference. At first, India was not allocated a seat on the Council of the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization (Picao) but through the efforts of the Indian delegation behind the scenes, Cuba was induced to retire in favour of India which has now obtained a seat on this Organization. At the Montreal Conference last May, Sir Frederick Tymms, the Government of India's delegate, emphasized that the legitimate interests of 'international carriers' should be protected in the proposed International Civil Aviation Convention and had stressed that no outside interests should become so strongly entrenched that it would be impossible for India or a country similarly situated to start her own services. There should be no 'destructive competition' by outside interests through the exercise of the rights to carry outbound and inbound homeland traffic. India has presumably signed the 'Two Freedoms' (or Transit) Agreement but not the 'Five Freedoms' (or Transport) Agreement. It appears, however, that some kind of bilateral agreement has been made between India and U.K. whereby the B.O.A.C. planes regularly ply between the two countries. Similarly, a bilateral agreement is also under negotiation between India and U.S.A. whereby the two principal American Lines, the T.W.A. (Trans-World Airway Services) and the Pan-American Airways propose to run regular bi-weekly services between U.S.A. and India. It is essential that the position of India in respect of these bilateral agreements be clarified by the Government and some light thrown on the progress made in regard to Government's plans for development of India's external services. India's interests lie neither in the direction of 'free enterprise' advocated by U.S.A. nor in a rigid plan of immediate allocation of routes, traffic and frequencies to existing lines and countries as proposed by U.K. Equality of opportunity, as propounded by U.S.A. cannot have much significance for a backward country like India unless there is some approximation to equality of conditions and capacity for utilizing the opportunity in question. The principle of free enterprise and equality of opportunity—a 'free for all' scramble—does not meet the problems of all peoples unless all peoples are assigned a place in the scheme of things. An outright division of air commerce among, let us say, U.S.A., Britain, the Soviet Union and one or two other European countries would mean exclusion and elimination of all other countries from international air. This would be even contrary to the terms of the Atlantic Charter which is designed 'to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access on equal terms to the trade

of the world.' Indian public opinion has desired all along India's adequate participation in international aviation and has demanded that the principle of reciprocity should not merely enable powerful foreign lines to use the vital routes across India and obtain necessary facilities without Indian planes also being able to fly and carry passengers to other lands. International relations in the years to come will, it is obvious, be dominated by air power. It will be the most potent instrument either as a hope or as a menace that the world has ever known. As Mr. William Burden, Assistant Secretary of Commerce of U.S.A., has observed, 'aviation has become a force whose effect on world security and economic development and on strategic position and domestic economy requires planning at the level of national policy.' No nation will willingly permit another and a more powerful one to dominate its air commercially. This is the fundamental issue involved in what is called 'freedom of the air.'

THE PROBLEM OF THE JAPANESE AMERICANS

By SYDNEY D. BAILEY

THE United States census of 1940 showed that 126,947 persons of Japanese ancestry resided within the territorial limits of the United States, forming just under 1% of the total population. Of these, some 80,000 were *Nisei*¹ (American-born citizens of Japanese ancestry) and 47,000 were *Issei* (foreign-born Japanese, ineligible for citizenship). Among the two groups were 50,000 minors under the age of 20. Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Japan, President Roosevelt authorized the War Department to exclude all persons of questionable loyalty from military areas, and as a consequence, General J. L. De Witt ordered the evacuation from the Pacific Coast States of all persons of Japanese descent, both citizens and aliens. Approximately 112,000 Japanese-Americans were removed and concentrated into Relocation Centres under the direction of the War Relocation Authority of the Department of the Interior.

The American *Nisei* are mainly children of *Issei* who settled in the United States before the 'Gentlemen's Agreement' of 1907 put an end to Japanese emigration to America. The Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924 finally barred all persons of Asiatic birth from entering the United States except for certain limited categories of temporary entrants.

More than half the Japanese-Americans originally interned have now been resettled. Conscription of *Nisei* was introduced in January 1944, and more than 20,000 *Nisei* (including women) were inducted into the armed forces: one-third of these were volunteers.² In spite of some public hostility, nearly 20,000 have been resettled in the Pacific Coast States of California, Oregon and Washington. A further 30,000 have settled east of the Rockies, including some 10,000 in Chicago.

During the war, over 4,000 *Nisei* were released from internment to return to schools, colleges, and technical institutions. Hostility towards Japanese-Americans was noticeably less amongst college students than other sections of the community, and *Nisei* played a normal part in college and university life. A *Nisei* student captained the 1944 boxing team at the University of Wisconsin, and during 1943-44, *Nisei* were elected to the presidencies of student bodies at 4 American colleges, including Haverford and Oberlin.³

The camp at Tule Lake in Northern California has been the only centre for 'segregated' Japanese-Americans. There are four 'segregated' classes:

- (1) Aliens who requested repatriation to Japan.
- (2) *Nisei* (including *Kibei*) who expressed a desire to renounce U.S. citizenship.
- (3) Persons with dubious intelligence records.
- (4) Persons in other groups who have elected to stay with aged parents or other dependent relatives.

The first group numbers 3,000; the second 5,700; and the third 8,500. No figures are available for group 4.

In the 'unsegregated' centres remain some 3,000 persons still awaiting resettlement, apart from the 20,000 young *Nisei* temporarily in the armed forces. Resettlement is proceeding at the rate of 6,000 to 7,000 a month and is scheduled for completion by July 1946.

An awkward situation has been created by the wish of several thousand of the *Nisei* in group (2) to retract the renunciation of U.S. citizenship. These *Nisei* maintain that their former decision was made under extreme duress at a time of 'temporary insanity.' Mr. Samuel Dickstein, Chairman of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, stated on September 25 that the Department of Justice would be asked to screen *Nisei* in this group before any final decision was taken.⁴

Only one serious incident has occurred in Relocation Centres during the war. A strike, instigated by a group of irresponsible trouble-makers, took place at the 'segregated' centre at Tule Lake in October 1943. Mr. Dillon S. Myer, Director of the War Relocation Authority, visited the camp and met the leaders of the strike. During the meeting, a group of rowdies went to the Camp Hospital and assaulted the Chief Medical Officer. The situation became unpleasant but not out of hand, though it was to some extent complicated by the hysterical attitude of some of the W.R.A. staff. Finally, the military were called in and order was restored. Minor incidents have occurred at the centres at Manzanar and Porton.⁵

The greatest obstacle to a smooth and speedy resettlement of the Japanese-Americans is public hostility. This is by no means a recent manifestation for it has existed since the large-scale Japanese immigration which took place at the turn of the last century. Japanese began entering the United States in the 1890's at the rate of about 1,000 a year, but in 1900, following the annexation of Hawaii, some 12,000 arrived at once.⁶ The prevailing anti-Chinese agitation was extended to the Japanese immigrants. Political intrigue of a shady nature was carried on in an effort to prevent further Japan-

ese immigration and to expel the Japanese who had already arrived. The campaign was led and financed by nation-wide and State organizations, including the American Legion and the Oriental Exclusion League. Anti-Japanese sentiment in the United States provided the Japanese Government with ample fuel for their propaganda machine in Asia, and continued to do so until the end of the Second World War.

Throughout the war, hostility towards Japanese-Americans was, as previously, concentrated along the West Coast. Organizations like the Home Front Commandos of Sacramento and the Remember Pearl Harbour League sprang up and made it their business to inflame public opinion. The American Legion in California wavered in its attitude, being influenced, perhaps, by the excellent fighting record of the loyal *Nisei*. One Legion Post in Oregon arranged to have the names of *Nisei* veterans removed from the roll of honour, but the public response to this act, including a severe reprimand from national Legion officials, deterred other Posts from pursuing a similar course. In their propaganda, these organizations made no distinction between citizens or aliens among the Japanese-Americans, or between loyal and disloyal. Organizations to defend the constitutional rights of the Japanese-Americans and to assist in resettling them were also formed. Prominent among these were the Church groups (among which the Quakers played a leading part), some of the labour unions (especially C.I.O. Unions), the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Council on Race Relations, and independent civic groups.

A number of public opinion polls have been arranged to discover the extent of anti-Japanese sentiment. These polls reveal that:—

1. Anti-Japanese opinion is more marked in the Pacific Coast States than elsewhere.
2. In all parts of the country, anti-Japanese opinion has *decreased* during the war.
3. Anti-Japanese sentiment is stronger among Whites than among Negroes, Chinese, Mexicans, and other non-White communities.
4. Anti-Japanese opinion is least common among those with a good educational background. One poll, for instance, showed that twice as many people with a college education would give equal employment opportunities to Japanese-Americans as people who had not had a college education.⁷

Tributes to the heroism and discipline of *Nisei* in the armed forces from prominent army commanders had an undoubted effect on public opinion. Officers attached to the 100th infantry battalion and the 442nd combat team have publicly testified to the courage and devotion of these loyal *Nisei*. Meyer Berger, an American journalist, has written of the exploits of *Nisei* troops in Europe and the Pacific. He records the testimony of one group of their fellow soldiers: 'It is a privilege and an honour to acknowledge the members of the 100 Battalion and the 442nd Regiment as fellow-Americans. We are duly proud to say "Well done" to you and yours.'⁸ Mr. Dillon S. Myer has pointed out that the loyalty of the *Nisei* has been amply demonstrated by the number of Presidential and other citations for bravery won by Japan-

ese-American soldiers. Major-General Clayton Bissell has said of the *Nisei* soldiers: 'They are doing a magnificent job—both men and women, in all areas not one has gone sour. . . . They will be absolutely essential to a successful occupation and to winning the peace.'

A severe obstacle to successful resettlement is the existence of some organized boycott of the produce of relocated farmers, especially in the wholesale markets of Los Angeles and Seattle. There have been a number of cases of arson, and some resettled *Nisei* have received threatening letters and telephone calls. Another problem has been the acute housing shortage along the West Coast. The shortage is most serious in urban areas with the result that *Nisei* have been mainly resettled in rural areas where they are more conspicuous. Church groups have taken the initiative in establishing hostels for Japanese-Americans.

The sudden termination of war contracts created a labour surplus in many of the boom towns of the Pacific Coast. The tendency in this situation is for employers of labour to give job preference to white applicants, and Japanese-Americans have suffered (as have Negroes) from employment discrimination.

Legal barriers to resettlement have included the denial of business licences to Japanese-Americans by state boards and the levying of extortionate insurance premiums by insurance companies. This latter difficulty may be overcome by the creation of a mutual company by the Japanese-Americans themselves. Another barrier is found in the Alien Land Law which obtains in many States. This prevents aliens ineligible for citizenship from owning land and has, quite unjustifiably, been used in some cases to prevent *Nisei*, who are citizens, from possessing land.

One further problem should be mentioned although this is one which ultimately can only be solved by the action of the Japanese-Americans themselves. It is the lack of ambition, enterprise, and initiative common among resettled Japanese-Americans who have endured several years of frustration, idleness, and boredom in internment. Lack of capital is also a serious hindrance to smooth integration. A small grant is made on resettlement by the War Relocation Authority, but this covers little more than travel and initial expenses. Mr. Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, has spoken of these difficulties. 'In my opinion, those who have relocated deserve praise for undertaking new lives, often far from their original homes and sometimes under difficult financial circumstances.'⁹

On 17 December, 1944, Major-General Henry C. Pratt, U.S. Commander in the Western Defence Zone, revoked the order excluding persons of Japanese ancestry from the Pacific Coast area. Two Justices of the Supreme Court have since asserted that the original order was unconstitutional. Justice Murphy stated on 18 December, 1944: 'In excommunicating them without benefit of hearings, this order also deprives them of all constitutional rights. . . .'

Many prominent Americans have also criticized the order as a damaging attack on civil liberties. Professor Eugene V. Rostow, former professor of law at Yale University, has declared:

The case of the Japanese-Americans is the worst blow our civil liberties have sustained in many years.... One hundred thousand persons were sent to concentration camps on a record which wouldn't support a conviction for stealing a dog.¹⁰

Terms Used In This Article

Nisei—American-born citizens of Japanese ancestry

Issei—Foreign-born Japanese, ineligible for citizenship

Kibei—Nisei who were educated or spent formative years in Japan

Sansei—Third generation American citizens of Japanese ancestry

War Relocation Authority—United States Federal Agency established under the Department of the Interior by executive order in March, 1942. Director: Mr. Dillon S. Myer

Relocation Centre—Internment Camp

FOOTNOTES

1 RESETTLING THE EVACUEES BY GALEN M. FISHER, in *Far Eastern Survey*, 26 September 1945.

2 Official Statement of War Relocation Authority, 21 October, 1944.

3 THE NISEI RETURN BY GALEN M. FISHER in *Common Sense*, November, 1945.

4 See official statement issued by MR. DILLON S. MYER on 17 November, 1943.

5 AMERICAN RACISM BY GENE WELTFISH in *Far Eastern Survey*, 29 August, 1945.

6 PUBLIC ATTITUDES ON JAPANESE-AMERICANS BY LOUISE MERRICK VAN PATTEN in *Far Eastern Survey*, 1 August, 1945.

7 *The New York Times*, 18 August, 1945.

8 Official statement issued December, 1944.

9 *Harper's* magazine, September, 1945.

10 February 1946.

The Implications of a Democratic World Order : Problems Arising Out of Cultural and Racial Contacts

By MRS. IRAWATI KARVE

(Continued from Vol II, p. 258)

THE TREATMENT OF THE NATIVE

It would be interesting to study the various ways and experiments of exploitation tried by different European powers in different parts of the world. In the first flush of contact in many places the native population was hunted like wild beasts and completely or partially exterminated. This happened in Tasmania, South Africa, Australia and parts of America. Everywhere the native population showed an enormous death rate after its contact with the Europeans because of new diseases and new ways of life like wearing of clothes and addiction to alcohol. This method was however very soon given up, due not so much to humanitarian feelings as to the need to conserve man power for the exploitation of the natural resources of the world. In some parts of the world like the United States and New Zealand the native population which had survived was rapidly assimilated to the religion and

culture of the Whites and is to-day hardly distinguishable from them. In America there are still pockets of the old Red Indian culture; but slowly and surely the old population is becoming Americanized. In New Zealand also the Europeans and the Maoris are mixed up thoroughly and are on the way to forming a new nation which may retain some Maori blood, but will have almost no Maori culture. The old generation with its cultural tradition is dead; no literary tradition preserves the old culture which is transmitted from one generation to another orally and in daily life. Once contact with the past is lost, there are no means for such primitive tribes to preserve their cultural entity. From the point of view of their old culture these people are dead, but they now no longer present a problem of culture conflict. On the other hand, the government in both the above-named countries has given the native population preferential treatment in all concerns so as to bring them up to modern standards of life. In America this aim presents no great difficulties but in New Zealand which is in part barren and wind-swept plateau-land the native population has been encouraged to take to dairying to supplement agriculture and fishing. The dairy products are bought by the Government and the whole industry is subsidized by the State. This brings the population within the influence of world economic cycles, where their fortunes and their standard of life ultimately depend on world demand for milk, cheese and butter. How long the New Zealanders as a nation can cling to European standards of life on this slender economic basis it is for time to prove.

In Australia, the aboriginal population was hunted for some time and is now only a few thousands strong. According to some sociologists it is doomed to die. It has certainly yielded the best of part of the country to the White settlers and is earning a miserable existence in an arid tract. Some are encouraged to live as menials of the Whites. At present as it does not appear that the native blacks are willing to become serfs of the Whites, the problem of a growing, servile black race in the midst of White conquerors may not arise at all for Australia. In future Australia will remain as a land of the Whites and the native population may die out completely or remain a glorified memory in the ethnological museums of the country. Australia is short of man power. It cannot use its own natives and may have to import cheap labour from outside but with these questions we are not immediately concerned. In the myriads of small South Sea Islands fortunately no great opportunities were at hand for the exploiter or the permanent settler. In the hot humid zone agriculture was possible only for the blacks and the browns. Europeans could not establish these big estates with native labour, as on the larger Islands of Java, Sumatra and Ceylon or the mainland of the Malay Peninsula. They had to content themselves with running trading companies gathering copra, a few missions teaching the Christian gospel and a loose type of government control. Before these islands with their dense jungles could be thoroughly mastered, Europe had entered into the second phase of its capitalist exploitation and had learnt that to produce the best conditions for production and exploitation the exploited people should not be much disturbed from their old ways of life. Therefore those islands that

escaped the fate of Eastern Islands—that of complete christianization—retained their tribal culture and a recent report shows that actually a new wave of nationalism may reverse the process and turn the new Christians back into the fold of the ancestral tribal religion. If the Islands have not played a great rôle as suppliers of raw material, they are destined to play a very great rôle in future as pawns in the great nations' game of power politics. These islands, scattered in the Pacific and astride the sea and air routes between Japan, China, Malaysia, America and Australia, will gain an importance which is quite disproportionate to their value as suppliers of raw materials and of man power. The chief islands among them will become fortified bases of international importance and will have possibly a permanently settled military and naval personnel. How this is going to affect native life it is too early to anticipate.

The whole of the continent of Africa, except Egypt, is parcelled out among Britain, France, Belgium and Portugal. What the fate of the northern Italian colonies will be we need not consider here. Egypt, the land where civilization flourished in a continuous period of over 6000 years, is part of Africa, and is yet physically separated from the rest of the continent so effectively that as far as culture-contact with Africans is concerned, it may have as well been situated a thousand miles away. It is an extremely narrow strip of country barely 250 miles in width and 600 miles in length. It is flanked on the east and west by deserts and at the southern end by great mountains and equatorial forests. The light of its pre-Islamic civilization could not reach Africa. Africa—the real inner Africa—had remained closed to the world until it was opened up by European adventurers in the 17th century. It was appropriated in huge chunks by companies floated in the various countries for the exploitation of raw materials. The high expectations of profit were not realized. One peculiarity of Africa is that in its greater part it possesses an extremely unhealthy climate, which is also too humid and too warm for the Europeans to settle and colonize. Africa's native population was scanty, ill-nourished and primitive. The new companies had to use this population for exploiting the land and mines. Region by region the people were made to cultivate such money crops as groundnuts, sisal, palm nuts, cocoa, coffee and kola nuts so that when their world prices fell the African producer was greatly hit. So many people were drafted into mines that native agriculture suffered and thousands perished in the famines that followed. All road and railway building was done by extremely low paid native labour and, it is recorded, that in all such ventures native mortality was enormous. But Africa is not uniformly governed and various experiments in government have been tried in different parts even in the British possessions.

British West Africa is one of the better governed of British possessions. Here the land was first given to private companies and then taken over by the British Government, but before that was done the private companies had destroyed all the natural rubber of the territory by intensive exploitation without an eye to the future. Even to-day certain companies are given exclusive rights to mine diamonds, chrome ore, etc. The income-tax on the profits

of these companies goes to the United Kingdom Treasury and the colonies get nothing from these mining concessions. But here no longer is an African allowed to sell his land to a European without Government consent and the West Africans are hard-working farmers growing their own money crops and sitting in legislative assemblies where, however, they are generally outvoted by European and Government members. West Africa possesses a college and two of its graduates have had higher education in Oxford and Cambridge. But the African colonies are today producing export goods like groundnuts, cocoa, tobacco and cotton which have thrown the intelligent and shrewd native farmers on the mercy of the world market and fluctuations. Every time a company was bought over by the State, fantastic prices were paid and these together with expenditure on costly railways constitute a major burden on the finances of the African colonies.

In this part of the world are also situated the French North African, West African and Equatorial colonies. Theoretically they are an integral part of France and any West African, provided he has the requisite qualifications, may even sit in the Chamber of Deputies in Paris. The late Mr. Eboue, the Governor-General of Equatorial-French Africa, was a full-blooded Negro. But the colonies are developed solely with an eye to the needs of the mother-country. The theoretical status of the Negro in the French colonies is high but actually the bulk of the population is worse off than in the British territory. In the whole of West Africa, whether British or French, a feeling of African nationalism has grown. The British policy of protecting the native farmers has made them shrewd businessmen and Africa may well look for leadership towards these western colonies which do not contain all told even a few hundred Europeans among its millions of inhabitants.

In South Africa and parts of East Africa, Europeans have settled in the country in great numbers and slowly by ruthless legislation have dispossessed the native of all the more desirable land. In the White settler colonies all the taxes are paid by the natives and all the profits are reaped by the Whites. In between are countries like Tanganyika where a paternal government governs through native chiefs and where the native population is slowly learning and advancing to govern itself. A novel experiment was tried in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, where a syndicate was given a concession over 300,000 acres of land for 20 years on the understanding that it would finance the settlement of peasant cultivators and act as agricultural manager in return for a certain share in the cotton crop. Thus land rights remain with the Government and the native population. There are over five million native cultivators of self-owned small farms and the colony is reaping much benefit from the profit-sharing scheme with the native peasant.

The White settler colonies show the blackest picture, where the native is pushed to the well—without education, without medical relief, without land enough to feed himself properly. In order to pay his taxes he has to work on the White mines or plantations; and only for a few months in the year does he go to the so-called native reserves to work for his family. The Whites clamour loudly if the Colonial Office shows even the slightest feeling of

humanity for the wretched natives. The taxes which the natives pay go to enrich a State which spends it on the health and education of the White children. Many of these White settler colonies have an Indian population of a considerable size. Formerly Indians did the jobs for which the native was not trained and which were not lucrative enough for the Whites. But the Indian trader, builder, doctor, pleader and planter are threatening the White trade and competing with the White settler. So, the Whites in Africa are clamouring against Indians. Neither is the Colonial Office very sympathetic to Indian claims. In the name of the guardianship of native rights, the Indians will be eliminated with the common consent of the Whites and the natives. Unfortunately the Indians, though not the prime oppressors of the natives, are as blind and impervious to the native claims as are the White settlers. The policy of diverting native hatred towards Indians and other orientals and shelving the issue between the natives and the Whites for the time being has been followed in other parts of the world also.

The immediate problem for Africa is not of self-government by the natives. The natives have been thrown into the twentieth century with such rapidity and violence that they have not yet understood completely their changed environment and are not yet equipped mentally and materially to cope with the new cultural environment. Their break with the past is complete in the sense that they cannot go back to their former mode of life. They must remain under foreign tutelage for another half a century. The question is whether the government of the country whether by the French, the English or the other powers, will do anything for the welfare and education of the native, with the ultimate goal of handing over all power to the natives, or will care only for retention of the present monopolies of the White capitalists at home and in Africa.

We now come nearer home to Malaysia. The story can be very briefly told. It follows the same imperialistic pattern of discovery by early adventurers, establishment of private companies and the taking over of these companies by the home governments at such exorbitant compensations to the companies that the various States are still burdened with the debt. All the expedients of direct and indirect rule through native Sultans and Rajas are also found here. The native Malay has been averse to serve on rubber plantations and tin mines and preferred the interior or the more backward colonies like Tragganu, Kedah and Kelantan. He preferred to stick to his ancient rice fields with the result that very large numbers of Indians have been taken over as coolies, and Chinese in even greater numbers have come as coolies, business men, traders and planters. These foreign elements are in a majority in the Federated Malay States, while in the indirectly governed Unfederated Malay States the Malays enjoy a slight majority. In all the Malay States, there has been recently legislation against Indians and Chinese on the plea of protecting Malay interests. Burma was governed directly since its rulers proved to be unamenable to the advice of a British Political Agent. Here also in recent times there has been great hatred for the Indian settler, the second degree exploiter who came in immediate contact with the population and thus shielded

his White master. Burma, which is a highly civilized country, with its national consciousness fully grown, aims at complete national self-government before long. The Malay Peninsula, Java and Sumatra will be under White tutelage for some time to come. It may be noted that China, India, Burma, Indonesia, and lastly Japan have been countries resistant to the Western culture and the Western religion in varying degrees.

Japan was penetrated by Europeans, especially by Jesuit Missionaries, over two hundred years ago. Converts were made to Christianity and at one time the Emperor himself had nearly turned Christian when a sudden revulsion of feeling and a nationalistic movement came which drove out the missionaries and closed Japan to all foreign penetration. This self-imposed isolation was broken forcibly by America in the 19th century. The Mikado and the Samurai class had vision enough to see the far-reaching effects of such a cultural contact and set with a will to adapt medieval Japan to modern industrial needs. Without allowing the foreigner to exploit Japan, the Japanese exploited all Western ideas and inventions, adopted them fully, still keeping to the class ideology of their ancient culture and soon took their place in the world as equals of the Western powers. Japan was clever enough to learn the Western ways but had not the genius or the breadth of vision to build up an Eastern culture bloc without the ambition of an Eastern empire. It improved on Western methods of imperialistic exploitation and is paying a very much heavier price than Western nations paid for their misdeeds.

In China the story of Western contact has run differently. European powers when they came in contact with China, had no desire to penetrate inland in the vast hostile territory and kept to the ports only which they secured for themselves. The Central power in China has up to this day kept its precarious existence as an independent political power by playing one exploiter against the other. A new influence—that of Russian Communism—is also making itself felt in China. Britain and America are wooing China as an ally against future Japanese aggression in the Pacific. In China itself there are powerful rival political groups each with sympathies with one or the other of the above-named foreign powers. What game China will play in the near future will determine the future of China politically and culturally.

In India, of the rival western powers only one remained dominant after eliminating the others. Had India successfully played the French against the English, and had the French kept their foothold in India, India's political position might have been that of a precarious and tolerated sovereign State which retained its independence by virtue of the jealousies of its rival exploiters. The conditions would have been somewhat analogous to those of China; but in India political events so turned out that the British remained in sole possession of the country. The further story is like that of other British possessions—an era of half-hearted, haphazard company rule, whose scandals made it necessary for the home government to take over the government of the country. India, like China, is a land with an ancient civilization and culture and could not be exploited on the pattern of Australia or Africa. Native co-operation was gained by the establishment of an educational system

which gave (the Government) an army of clerks and higher administrative officers. Indian nationalism was so alive that after the futile attempt to throw off the foreign yoke in 1857 the Queen had to proclaim in a declaration that all the subjects of Her Majesty would be treated as equals, though no immediate results followed. During the past few decades Indians have been participating in a progressive degree in the government of the country. India is vast, the population is immense in density and varied, highly civilized and sophisticated; in fact the cultural conditions here have been such that effective exploitation without native co-operation was impossible. India too is divided into the India of direct rule and the India of indirect rule. When concessions of a political nature had perforce to be granted to British India, Indian India could be preserved as islands of political backwardness and as a check on the British Indian nationalist movement. India possesses high commercial and business talent so that the European example in capitalist exploitation was quickly followed by native enterprise. These enterprises flourished even more than the European enterprises, because while in Europe the rise of industry saw the rise of the labour movement, in India the new industries began with the most modern equipment in a medieval social setting. India will soon get self-government but whether it will be a government for the welfare of the masses is problematic. The present franchise is such that power in future will be concentrated in the hands of the well-to-do classes. Even if the franchise is extended, the mass of people is illiterate and needy, and can be easily bribed or swayed by purely nationalistic slogans which have no definite programme of government for the masses. For some years to come we shall have to train ourselves not only in self-government, but in the democratic forms of self-government.

THE MORAL BASIS OF DEMOCRACY

We thus come to our central theme, the implications of a world democracy from the point of view of races and cultures. We have seen in our review how certain huge masses of human groups are too far from the happenings of the present century and how they are merely acting the rôle of means for certain ends of certain distant people. I think a democracy is not a government where capitalism finds ways of lenient exploitation, but where every human society and every human being are valued as equals with every other society and with every other human being, where man is not a means to achieve this, that or the other thing but is an end in himself; where it is made possible for every man to participate in the communal life of his fellow beings, on terms of absolute equality; where a man is taught to live a life of work and leisure not as a mere machine in work and relaxation but as befits his dignity as man. If such be the ultimate goal of democracy, how can it be compatible with nations held as slaves and semi-slaves, where peoples have lost all cultural background which alone can give full play to the individual's intellectual capabilities? A democracy cannot become a mere enlightened capitalism, it must rest on the moral basis of human equality which is reflected in the political slogan of 'one man—one vote'. A respect for other

cultures, other religions, other modes of thought and dress, other modes of talking and lastly other shapes of noses and eyes and other shades of body colour can come only if the fundamental equality of man is conceded. Only on that principle is democracy possible. If one thinks of the Negroes as slightly, ever so slightly, inferior to other human beings, the Indians ever so slightly inferior to the Europeans, the Brahmins ever so slightly better than the other castes, world democracy has no theoretical foundation, its tenets will have neither the force of a faith nor the sanction of an intellectual conviction. Starting with these mental reservations, it is bound to fail. Nationalism, which is an integrating force within a cultural region, because it stresses the equality and affinity of people within the region, in its attitude towards other nationalities might well become a force for destruction by denying the equality to weaker nations. Religion, especially the two new monotheistic religions, professing equality within their fold, deny the same to the rest of humanity and as such are not factors conducive to a belief in human equality. They have to unlearn some of their fundamental doctrines and learn the old heathen mood of not only letting alone other gods and their priests but respecting them. The respect is not so much for the other gods as for the feelings of others. The close contact of peoples, and the sweeping of world populations into a single economy is bound to modify all the communities so as to bring them into a cultural unity. But that cultural unity should be comparable to that of the older civilizations where the material culture was about the same but the ideal world was slightly different in each people and in each region.

27 December 1945

INDIA AND THE WORLD

PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES*

AND COMMITTEES

ATOMIC SCIENTISTS ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE: LONDON: 31 JULY, 1946.

SCIENTISTS from 50 countries including India attended the conference to deliberate on problems concerning the use of atomic energy. The delegates strongly criticized the moves to enforce secrecy about atomic energy. The conference decided not to form an international federation but to exchange literature and ideas on how best to educate the public in a scientific way. It was agreed to try and secure correspondents in all countries where there are scientists and also to send letters to those countries like Russia not represented in the conference. The scientists expressed the hope that a central office would be set up to act as an international clearing-house. The Indian scientists discussed with H. M. G's Atomic Energy Committee about the natural resources

* As the Paris Peace Conference was still in session, when this section went to press, an account of it will be given in the next issue of *India Quarterly*, Editor.

possessed by India for the development of atomic energy in India. India will send a delegate to the Atomic Energy Committee formed in London.

WORLD STUDENTS' CONGRESS: PRAGUE: 18-31 AUGUST, 1946

About 500 students representing 50 nations attended the Congress. From India, the All-India Students Congress, the All-India Students Federation and the All-India Muslim Students Federation were invited to send 20 delegates to represent India. The All-India Students Congress was represented by Ravindra Varma, Ramakrishna Bajaj, Jaffer Abid Ali, Prabhakar Kunte and Dinkar Sakrikar. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru sent a message asking the Congress to address itself to the elimination of fascism and imperialism, colonialism and racialism and stressing that freedom, like peace, was indivisible. The Czech Premier told the students that it should be their mission to annihilate fascism and the Czech Minister of Education declared that the atom bomb challenged all, especially the young, to exert their strength in order to avoid more clashes of arms.

The Conference, to a certain extent, reflected the world political headaches. Egyptian students attacked the British Near East policy and asserted that students were still in prison for their political beliefs. The delegates of the All-India Muslim Students Federation demanded to be recognized as representatives of the Muslim Nation.

The Conference set up an International Union of Students and adopted its constitution in the last week of August, only the Dutch delegation voting against it. Two representatives of the All-India Muslim Students Federation declined to sign the constitution of the union and demanded representation on the Executive Committee. The Conference elected a 111-member Council for the Union—at the rate of one member for each ten thousand students. The delegates of the Indian Students Congress resented the limitation of Council seats to 6 each for the larger nations. The three Indian student organizations represented at the Conference were each allotted 2 seats in the Council.

MORAL REARMAMENT CONFERENCE: CAUX-SUR-MONTREUX:
AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1946

This Conference which was sponsored by the American religious leader Dr. Frank Buchman was attended by about 700 delegates from 26 nations. It was purely an informal gathering with no agenda or resolution. The objective was to create a friendly and spiritual atmosphere and thus facilitate the achievement of team work between nations in an effort to solve problems of the post-war world. The last gathering was held at San Francisco on the occasion of the first meeting of the United Nations. India was represented by R. S. Ruikar, R. S. Nimbkar, V. G. Dalvi, Abid Ali Jafferbhoy (labour leaders), Lord Sinha and Cederic Mayadas.

Dr. Sih of China declared that 'this assembly reflects real peace in every respect.' Ronald Chamberlain from Britain said 'In Paris is the Peace Conference of which in many ways we are not very proud as human beings....The

history of the British people and the peoples of India has had a troublous, in many ways unhappy, past. We of Great Britain are prepared to bear witness to the fact that a great load of wrong and fault has lain upon the British Parliament and the British people. We are glad to admit that perhaps the more readily and significantly here under the auspices of Moral Rearmament. Responding to this gesture Mr. Ruikar said: 'We are prepared to accept the hand of co-operation offered to us. . . . I am glad that moral rearmament can be interlinked with world problems of politics. India needs your guidance and help at this critical juncture more than we have ever needed it before'. Mr. Dalvi told the Conference: 'After going back it will be our privilege and duty to carry the message of Moral Rearmament to India.' Mr. Abid Ali presented Dr. Buchman a wreath on behalf of Indian trade unionists. Mr. Ruikar invited the Conference to hold the world assembly of Moral Rearmament in India next year.

WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE : COPENHAGEN : 2-16 SEPTEMBER, 1946

The second session of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization opened in Copenhagen on 2 September. The agenda for the session was to consider the report of the Washington meeting held in May 1946 with special reference to measures recommended to meet the food situation in 1946-47, the relationship between the F.A.O. and other inter-governmental organizations and co-operation with non-governmental organizations, the assumption of functions and proprietary rights of the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome and of *Comite International Du Bois* and development plans for forestry and forest products. It also included a survey of the world food situation and the long-term proposals on food and agriculture based on the findings and recommendations of the Standing Advisory Committees and an examination of the position regarding allocation of cereals in connexion with the long-term proposals which included the suggestion for the establishment of a World Food Board. India was represented at the Conference by Sir J. P. Srivastava (Leader) with Dr. Sethi, Dr. Beniprasad, K. Ramaiah, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, Dr. G. Sankaran and D. Stewart as Advisers and Prof. N. G. Ranga, Khan Abdul Ghani Khan, Sardar Habibullah Khan, S. Basu, Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee and G. Parameswaran Pillai as Associates and with W. H. J. Christie as Secretary of the delegation. Dr. Rao, Dr. Sethi, Dr. Beniprasad, Prof. Mahalanobis and Ramaiah were also elected members of the Standing Advisory Committees set up by the F.A.O. Prof. Ranga was elected to the World Food Board Committee and Dr. Mukherjee, as the Chairman of the Committee on Economics and Statistics. Indian delegates also served on the Nominations Committee and the Sub-committee of the Finance Committee. M. Henrik Kaufmann, Danish Minister to Washington, was elected Chairman of the Conference and Sir Srivastava, one of the three Vice-Chairmen. Addressing the plenary session on 4 September, Sir Srivastava said: 'The opening of this conference coincides with a day of great significance to my country'. On Monday there assumed office the first Indian Cabinet . . . we Indians are aware that we must save ourselves by our

own exertions, but we know too that the improvement of the lot of our 400 millions, a matter of life and death to us on a gigantic scale, must also be a matter of grave concern to the whole world. . . India will provide the first and probably the greatest test of the F.A.O.' The Conference unanimously decided to send a cable of greetings to the new Indian Cabinet. Addressing the conference on 5 September, Sir Boyd Orr, Director-General of the F.A.O. warned the delegates that the danger of a sudden collapse of world food prices 'looms in the near future' and pleaded for a World Food Board and the building of world food reserves. On 6 September, the Conference approved the proposal to establish a World Food Board which elected Mr. Morris E. Dodd, U.S. Under-Secretary for Agriculture as its Chairman and T. H. Chien, Chinese Vice-Minister for Agriculture and Prof. A. Mork of Norway, as Vice-Chairmen. On 7 September, the Indian delegation proposed that the Conference should set up a special commission of 20 members including representatives of Asia and South America to examine the proposals for a World Food Board drawn up by Sir Boyd Orr. This suggestion as well as the plans proposed by U. K., U.S.A. and the European countries were made the basis for a report that the Secretariat Committee had been directed to work out. Another Committee was appointed to consider the world food position of 1946-47 and report on the immediate food requirements for deficit areas. Mr. Pillai who had been appointed to this Committee strongly pressed the case of India for immediate relief, particularly in supply of rice. The Chairman of the Committee admitted that the Committee was greatly impressed with the exposition of the present most critical situation in India and would recommend to the Emergency Food Council to give full consideration to the Indian demands at the forthcoming meeting in Washington so that prompt and adequate relief might be extended to India. The Committee recommended to member countries of the F.A.O., particularly industrial countries, to consider urgently what steps they could take to increase supplies of such merchandise.

The Conference admitted Ireland, Italy and Switzerland to membership of the F.A.O. but rejected Spain. It decided that F.A.O. should initiate studies of the possibilities of the extension of the agricultural front in various pioneer zones and review population trends and policies in relation to economic pressure and encouragement of migration. It proposed world census of agriculture for 1950 and decided to provide trained personnel in the field of agricultural co-operation for various countries. The Conference has set up a Preparatory Commission for the creation of the World Food Executive Organization. Prof. Ranga and Mr. Pillai met the Director-General of the U.N.R.R.A. and others and impressed upon them the critical food situation in India and the urgency of immediate food supplies.

U.N.R.R.A. COUNCIL : GENEVA : 5 AUGUST 1946

The fifth session of the Council was formally opened on 5 August in Geneva by Mr. Florello La Guardia, Director-General of the U.N.R.R.A. India was represented by Sir Atul Chatterjee. Presenting his Report Mr. La

Guardia declared that the contract of the Russian military authorities in Austria with Czechoslovakia to deliver 15,000 tons of Austrian oil was inconsistent with the rules of U.N.R.R.A. Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the U.N.O., said that after his recent trips across Europe, he felt hopeful about the future. 'The work of U.N.R.R.A. is complementary to what is being accomplished in Paris.' Czechoslovakia, Poland, Greece, Yugoslavia and Austria which have been receiving the U.N.R.R.A. aid urged that international relief to Europe should continue in 1947. Dr. C. N. Lie of China suggested that members of the United Nations should contribute to a common fund to render assistance in case of disasters in the future. On 12 August a committee of representatives drawn from 10 countries was appointed to draft a compromise resolution on the issue whether U.N.R.R.A. aid should continue. The Anglo-American delegations on the Policy Committee favoured its dissolution next winter, while several East European countries and China favoured either continuance through 1947 or the convoking of another Council session in November to consider future needs. India was on this drafting committee.

On 13 August Sir Atul declared India's inability to continue further contributions to the U. N. R. R. A. either in goods or financially and also her inability to pay half her promised second contribution in view of the fact that 'India is threatened with wide-spread famine.' He reminded the conference that India was not considered eligible for U. N. R. R. A. relief and that while U. N. R. R. A. aimed at giving 2,000 calories to the people of European countries receiving its aid, Indians were at present getting only 1,200 calories. Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, leader of the British delegation, supported India saying 'India showed the greatest generosity in what she has already done.'

PERMANENT MIGRATION COMMITTEE OF THE I. L. O. : MONTREAL :

28 AUGUST, 1946

This is the first meeting of the Committee since it was constituted by the I. L. O.'s Governing Body early in 1940. 23 of the 25 countries participated as members of the Committee. Canada and Britain were represented by observers. The United Nations, the U. N. R. R. A. and the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees were represented by advisory members. Three members of the Governing Body of the I. L. O. and three experts on migration problems appointed by the Governing Body also participated in the deliberations. The four-point agenda was (i) the exchange of views on migration prospects, (ii) forms of international co-operation capable of facilitating an organized resumption of migration movements, (iii) racial discrimination in connexion with migration and (iv) the technical selection of migrants.

India was represented by Sir G. S. Bajpai with Mr. P. Kodanda Rao as Adviser. On 28 August when the Committee met Sir Bajpai expressed India's hope to send to other countries as emigrants the bulk of her war-time army of two million men and an advance guard of millions of others. He declared that Africa, Australia and Latin America were suitable for Indian settlement and that admission of Indians 'is a test to see to what extent the world is mov-

ing away from the old prejudices towards a more enlightened concept of equality.'

The final report of the Committee recommended practical means of distributing surplus people from over-populated European and Asian countries to sparsely settled areas, particularly in North and South America. Recommendations relating to specific forms of international co-operation to facilitate organized resumption of migration affirmed the Committee's conviction that racial non-discrimination was a pre-requisite for nations seeking settlers. The Committee's recommendations were embodied in a report to be submitted to the Governing Body for consideration at its meeting on 16-17 September. It requested the Governing Body to pass on its findings to the United Nations Economic and Social Council for consideration by the Commission on Human Rights for this was a right question for the United Nations only.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WOMEN'S CHARTER : SYDNEY : AUGUST 1946

The Australian Women's Charter Committee sponsored the Conference to seek the opinion of women of other countries in discussing the required amendments to the Charter drafted by them urging world unity, outlawing of war, a strong voice for women in peace talks and equal status to women with men. Mrs. Mithan Lam, Barrister, and Miss Kapila Khandavala, Secretary of the Schools' Committee, Bombay Corporation, represented India. Mrs. Lam also spoke over the national radio network on India's food crisis appealing for urgent aid.

DELEGATIONS AND MISSIONS

THE AGRICULTURAL DELEGATION TO PALESTINE: MAY-JULY 1946

The Agricultural Department of the Government of India sent in May '46 a Delegation of officials and non-officials to Palestine to study the methods of co-operative farming adopted in that country. The Delegation consisted of the following officials: (1) Dr. T. G. Shirname, Deputy Agricultural Marketing Adviser to the Government of India, (Leader); Dr. Girdhari Lal, Bio-Chemist, Indian Institute of Fruit Technology, Lyallpur; Mr. S. Bal Singh, Fruit Specialist to the Punjab Government, Lyallpur; Dr. A. G. Riaz, Assistant Agriculturist, Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi; Mr. S. A. Hamid, Department of Co-operation, Government of Bihar, Patna; The non-official members of the Delegation were Mr. R. Mitchell, Kanwar Satyajit Singh, and Sardar Chiranjiv Singh Mann. The Delegation returned to India in the first week of July 1946, after spending about a month in Palestine.

At the request of the Government of India, the Palestine Government made the necessary arrangements for the members of the Delegation to go round the country and study firsthand the organization and working of the different types of co-operative farms. Mr. A. Goor, Senior Horticulturist Officer of the Department of Agriculture, Palestine, prepared practically the whole of the programme of the Indian Delegation and personally accompanied it through

the major part of its tour in Palestine. Mr. Jamal Hammad, Senior Agricultural Officer, accompanied the Delegation during the last week of its stay in Palestine to help it in understanding the Arab problems of Agriculture. Throughout its stay in Palestine, the various Departments and officers of the Jewish Agency helped the Delegation in understanding the various aspects of the workings of the co-operative farms in Palestine. The Delegation was conducted to all the representative farming organizations and institutions developed amongst the Jews. The Delegation also had an opportunity to see the Arab villages and the Arab system of agriculture.

The report of the Indian Delegation is still under consideration and hence its recommendations and proposals on the subject are still confidential.

TECHNICAL DELEGATION TO GERMANY: JUNE-JULY 1946

The Planning and Development Department of the Government of India deputed Mr. B. K. Nehru and Mr. Kaiser Ahmed to Germany to study the latest scientific processes there. During their five weeks stay there, Mr. Nehru examined the latest types of machine tools while Mr. Ahmed investigated the chemical processes in footwear and leather industries. In this connexion they visited scores of factories and were struck by the efficiency of the machines which had survived the terrible bombing and were operating in devastated Germany. They returned to India in the middle of July and submitted their report to the Government of India.

FOOD DELEGATION TO ARGENTINA: AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1946

The Delegation consisted of Dewan Chamanlal (Leader), Mr. Modi, India's Trade Commissioner in Buenos Aires, Mr. M. D. Apostolides, Technical Adviser and Kumar Ajit Singh, Secretary to the Delegation. It was deputed in the last week of July to place India's case for food imports before the Argentine Government and urge for facilities for shipment of cereals already purchased there and explore the prospects of obtaining additional supplies. As a result of their efforts, Argentina promised India export permits immediately for 140,000 tons of maize and 25,000 tons of wheat products already purchased by India. India will further receive 135,000 tons of foodstuffs later.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS OF INDIA

FINANCIAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF SIAM: 4 SEPTEMBER 1946

It is hereby agreed between the Government of India and the Government of Siam as follows :—

1. *Credit*—The Government of India will extend to the Government of Siam a credit of Rs. 5,00,00,000 which may be drawn upon at any time between 1 August, 1946, and 31 July, 1947, inclusive.
2. *Purpose of the Credit*—The purpose of the credit is to facilitate purchases by Siam of goods and services in India and thereby to assist in the early rehabilitation of Siam.

3. *Drawing on the Credit*—The Government of Siam will instruct its bankers, the Bank of Siam to open an account with the Reserve Bank of India, and the Government of India will arrange for payment into this account of such sums in blocks of Rs. 5,00,000 as may be required under this credit from time to time by the Government of Siam in demands addressed to the Government of India in the Finance Department. No such demand will be made after 31 July, 1947.

4. *Amortization and Interest*—The amount of the credit drawn by 31 July, 1947 shall be repaid with interest at the rate of three per cent. per annum in annual instalments of Rs. 34,00,000 beginning on 1 August, 1947.

Each instalment shall consist of the full amount of the interest due, and the remainder of the instalment shall be the principal to be repaid in that year.

Interest for the year ending July 31, 1947, shall be computed on sums paid under Article 3 into the account of the Bank of Siam from the respective dates of such payments. For each subsequent year interest shall be computed on the principal sum outstanding on 1 August, of that year.

The Government of Siam may after 1 August, 1951 accelerate repayment of the amount drawn under this credit.

5. The annual instalments of principal repayments and interest shall be paid on the 1 August of each year by transfer from the account of the Bank of Siam with the Reserve Bank of India to the account of the Government of India with the said Reserve Bank.

6. The Government of Siam will, in consultation with the Government of India, establish a purchasing policy in respect of all purchases to be made by the Government of Siam under this credit from sources in India other than Government sources.

RICE AGREEMENT BETWEEN INDIA AND INDONESIA

Letter from the representative, Government of India to the Prime Minister, Indonesian Republic.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I have the honour to refer to recent conversations held between us and to state that the Government of India are grateful to the Indonesian Republic for the generous offer to supply paddy to India. They deeply appreciate your desire to relieve the critical food situation in India.

I am to assure you that the Government of India desire to assist the Indonesian Republic to relieve the shortage of consumer goods and will supply such goods as are required by you to the maximum extent possible.

The Government of India accept the offer to supply paddy on the terms and conditions mentioned below:—

- (a) Seven hundred thousand tons of paddy will be supplied.
- (b) The price of paddy will be rupees ten, annas thirteen and four pies per one hundred kilogrammes.
- (c) Paddy will be delivered at port in bags which will be supplied free for this purpose by the Government of India.
- (d) The paddy to be supplied will be of fair average quality, clean and full

grain and without stem. Dust mixture will be kept at a minimum. In any case it will not exceed 5%. In case the quality of paddy offered is below the specification mentioned above, the shipping officer of the Government of India will have the option either to reject the supply or to purchase it at such lower price as may be mutually agreed between port representatives of the Government of India and the Indonesian Republic.

- (e) The value of paddy supplies by the Indonesian Republic will be set off against the amount due to the Government of India on account of consumer goods supplied to the Indonesian Republic and the balance, if any, will be paid in India to the authorized agents or bankers of the Indonesian Republic. If on the other hand, a net payment is due to the Government of India, the Indonesian Republic will pay to the Government of India such amount in rupees in India.
- (f) The Government of India will arrange for shipping and will do all in their power to supplement local resources of lighters and tugs. You have kindly agreed to provide trained labour and such lighters and tugs as are available for loading operations. Labour and lighter charges will be paid by the Government of India at the current scale of payment for such services. The Indonesian Republic will pay the charges in the first instance and recover them from the Government of India in rupees at a rate of exchange to be mutually agreed between the Indonesian Republic and the Government of India.
- (g) With a view to minimum delay in shipping, the Indonesian Republic have agreed to keep stocks of twenty thousand tons of paddy ready at each port. To assist the Indonesian Republic in this behalf, the Government of India will endeavour to provide additional motor transport so far as they are able.
- (h) The Government of India will supply to the Indonesian Republic on payment in India at prices agreed upon such quantities of textile piece-goods and agricultural implements, motor tyres and tubes, cooking utensils and other consumer goods as are required by you and can be supplied by India. The handling and freight charges incurred by the Government of India will also be paid by the Indonesian Republic.

I take this occasion to renew to your Excellency the expression of my high consideration.

Reply from the Prime Minister, Indonesian Republic to the representative, Government of India.

DEAR MR. PANJABI,

I have pleasure in acknowledging receipt of your letter of the same date. It has been my earnest desire to relieve the critical food situation in India by supply of paddy from Indonesia.

I am very glad to note that the Government of India desire to assist the Indonesian Republic to relieve the shortage of consumer goods and that they will supply such goods as are required by us to the extent that they can be exported from India without detriment to its internal economy.

The Indonesian Republic will supply paddy to the Government of India on the terms and conditions mentioned below. (The terms mentioned in para 3 of the letter of the Government of India are repeated by the Prime Minister.)

NOTES AND MEMORANDA

THE PHILIPPINE OUTLOOK

By FEROZE S. WADIA

ON 4 July 1946, the Philippine Commonwealth became an independent State. But the chief question before the Philippines is not their political sovereignty, but whether they will continue to enjoy a very favourable tariff in the American market. If the answer is in the negative, the islanders will have to recast their entire pre-war economy and face the full blast of world competition to sell their products. About $\frac{1}{2}$ the cultivable land and $\frac{1}{3}$ of the population* are given to rice cultivation, but it is not an export crop. On the contrary before the war, substantial quantities were imported from Siam and Indo-China, and even now the Philippines face a famine to relieve which the U.S. Government is sending rice from its own sources of supply. Sugar accounts for 40% of the exports, and this goes to the U. S. A. Coconut products come second with 20%, and with the exception of a negligible 5% the whole output goes to the United States. The same is the case with hemp and tobacco. Gold, silver and copper valued at 40 million dollars go to America, together with 2 million tons of chromite, which is almost the entire production. These figures, collected by the National City Bank of New York, speak for themselves. Although the United States has such a stronghold on Philippine economy, in fairness it must be said that the Americans have succeeded in raising wages by over three times in comparison with Indian standards. Indeed the average Filipino worker is the best paid amongst all Asiatics with a corresponding high standard of living.

The detailed history of Filipino-American foreign trade and tariffs, though interesting, need not concern us here. From 1913, there was complete reciprocity between the two countries, until the Philippine Independence Act of 1934 set up a series of graduated export taxes on the principal products. The American Congress hoped by these enactments to lessen Filipino dependence on the American market. The tax yield from coconut oil alone came to 15 million dollars annually, and the total amount to over $\frac{1}{3}$ of the revenue. This money was intended to be used for attaining self-sufficiency, but due to graft and mismanagement the practical effect was just the reverse to that intended by the United States Congress, and has only accentuated Filipino dependence on the U. S. A. Urgent as rehabilitation problems undoubtedly are, trade relations with the United States are of greater importance in the long run. If past experience is to be a sure guide, then an abrupt cessation of tariff pre-

* Total area 114,000 sq. miles; population about 14.5 millions.

ferences will entirely derange the national economy of the Philippines, and catastrophically bring down the national dividend. The alternatives to tariff preference are neither numerous nor promising. Some industrialization is possible, but is very much hindered by the national laws and regulations which forbid the large-scale transfer of agrarian land to joint-stock companies. So far State management of concerns as the Philippine National Bank, National Development Co., National Coal Corporation, and the Manila Railroad have been dismal failures, showing that at least in the Philippines, socialization is more attractive in theory, than in practice.

Thus far only the economic aspect has been touched, so to pass on to the political situation. As the last four years may be called as many years out of the life of the Philippine nation, their Independence programme could logically have been deferred to sometime in 1950. But the mass of the people have been clamouring for complete, immediate and absolute independence! Before anyone is dazzled by the prospect of a new sovereign State, he should remember that the new government will be in for a lot of trouble. The followers of Islam are numerous, and determined now that they have been able to acquire arms, not to hand them over. The fierce Moros, whose gallantry has been praised by none other than General Douglas MacArthur can be placed in this category. There is too the vexatious problem of the former guerillas. Like their compatriots in the west, they show no inclination to disarm, and many of them have taken to the mountains, where they commit acts of banditry against their own people. When the reconstituted Filipino army attempts to restore law and order throughout the land, it will have to reckon with these ex-guerillas as open enemies.

Potentially more serious there is the problem of the tenant farmers of Central Luzon and northern Mindanao. The dense population of these areas has led to the extensive sub-division of the land, so familiar to Indians, and to its intensive cultivation, which is economically unsound. So persuasion by propaganda or a mild form of economic compulsion may solve this defect by encouraging an exodus to the other equally fertile islands. These and other social evils have given rise to the Hukbalahap, a socialistic body led by Pedro Santos, disarmed by the invading Americans on account of an attempt to seize power by means of a *coup d'etat*. There is too the smaller Ganap party, an extremely nationalistic organization under Benigno Ramos, since disarmed by the Americans. Also rounded up were the Kalibapi members, a totalitarian party founded by the Japanese puppet, Jose Laurel, when 'President of the Independent Republic of the Philippines.' Recently there were loud complaints in the left-wing American press that 'all the progressive elements in the Islands are being jailed by Supreme Commander, General Douglas MacArthur' but the real situation is that only these trouble-makers are being put under lock and key. Mention must also be made of the Philippine National Party founded by the first President, Manuel Quezon. The party had a tremendous following before the Japanese attack on the Commonwealth, but little is known about it authoritatively at this juncture.

The recent Presidential election has shown that the Filipinos have rejected

the theories and lavish claims of the Left. The retiring President was Sergio Osmena, who was favourable to the Left, and had a number of collective schemes in his programme. But he was defeated by General Manuel Roxas, the candidate of the conservatives, by almost two to one. The left-wing press all over the world raised the old bogey of reactionaries gaining power through fraud and graft! But that leaves out the cardinal principle for which democracy is supposed to stand. The Philippine people can vote for whichever party and individual they desire, and it may be significant that the charge of being a communist was levelled against Sergio Osmena. It has been said that if anyone wants to commit political suicide he has to join the local Communist party; so the election of General Roxas may be ascribed to the traditional conservatism of the Filipino peasant jealous of his own little plot of land, however small it may be.

The foreign relations of the Commonwealth Government will be friendly with its neighbours. Japan has been eliminated as an important Pacific Power for the next twenty years, whilst China has no navy or big air force at present to cherish any designs against the Commonwealth, even if we do not take into account her exhaustion. The other peoples of the Pacific—Indonésians, Australians, New Zealanders, Siamese, and Indo-Chinese—have every reason for welcoming a stable Philippine Commonwealth. The attitude of Russia is a bit more dubious, for Moscow is busy disseminating subversive propaganda amongst the lowest sections of the population, but taken as a whole the Filipinos have the utmost contempt for the small Communist Party in their country and are fully aware of their fifth column and Trojan horse activities in other countries.

The primary question confronting the new government is whether the Filipinos will have the protection of the secure American market, or face the consequences of world economic competition. It is significant that immediately after his election, General Roxas hurried to Washington to discuss with President Truman and his Cabinet the tense situation that would result if the Filipinos suddenly found themselves deprived of American tariffs. Also there has been a colossal destruction of property in the islands, and it remains to be seen if the American Congress will consent to a generous scale of compensation, for in the last resort, the money will have to come from the pockets of the American tax-payer, who is already grumbling about the heavy burden he still has to shoulder.

Another question to be considered is the brand of 'independence' that the new Commonwealth Government is going to enjoy. It can be as theoretical as Poland which, at the present moment, is subservient to Russia or as real as that of the United States itself. American troops are going to remain in the islands, for their strategic importance was at once manifested, when the Japanese after their occupation were able to sever all Allied communications in the South-West Pacific. But the Filipinos seem to desire American armed protection, if the same is negotiated on a footing of equality by two sovereign governments.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHINESE FAMILY AND SOCIETY. By Olga Lang, Published under the auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, and the Institute of Social Research, 1946 (New Haven Yale University Press, \$4.00.)

THIS is a useful and compact study on the different aspects of the Chinese Family and Society from hoary antiquity to modern times. Miss Olga Lang has apparently taken great pains to ransack all the available literature for collecting the necessary data on the subject for compiling this handy volume. Besides, she has carried out extensive field work in China for gathering statistics on the social economy of that country. Born in the Ukraine in the U. S. S. R., and having studied at the University of Leningrad and Moscow, she has travelled widely in Russia and Europe and lived for some years in Berlin. She had made an intense study of Russian and European sociology, before she set herself to the task of analysing the social and economic history of China. With her European background, she has reviewed the very foundations of the world's oldest civilization and its social polity—that of China.

No doubt, the book contains a wealth of information on Chinese Family and Society, or what we call 'Kin and Clan,' but unfortunately some of her observations are groundless, in view of the fact she has reached her conclusions in accordance with European political and social standards. There seems to be an ineradicable tendency in some of the foreign writers to depict the dark and gloomy sides of China's social life, and their attitude has been one of fault-finding on all that is Chinese. Only China's bad things are broadcast by them, while even of good things bad interpretations are given. This evil is due to the lack of a better understanding of the problem they discuss, its genesis, growth and the many evolutionary changes it has undergone in the past, besides an utter lack of national understanding, producing race prejudice in the minds of these observers.

Miss Olga Lang's book does not lack in sympathy and understanding. The well-informed reader may or may not agree with some of her views, but on the whole, her book is a brilliant publication, full of materials of lasting interest, and it should make a wide appeal to Indians interested in Chinese affairs.

But in spite of the author's wide understanding and sympathy, I am afraid, some of her conclusions could be refuted in the light of authoritative statements of Chinese writers. In this brief review, I may point out one or two points which are of utmost importance to China.

The author's remarks that 'the Upper Bureaucracy ruling in the name of an absolute Emperor enjoyed enormous power, perhaps greater than any ruling class in any feudal or capitalistic Society' is a Western misconception of the system of Government in China in peace. Further, the 'Oriental Despotism' of China and India is another Western myth which stands exploded long ago.

Mass-murders, wholesale purges, concentration camps and similar other despotisms of Bolshevik Russia, and Fascist-cum-Nazi Europe, including those of British Empire countries considered by many as models of Democracy and Freedom, were unheard of in the annals of ancient China and India. The history of European civilization has been bound up with bloody wars of religion, the bitter and abominable persecution and torture of heretics, suppression of human emancipation and the exploitation of backward races and colonization of their lands. But the Chinese civilization based on Confucian system of social ethics has produced an orderly and peaceful Government with an ideal system of Society and Family in China. The people though free looked to the Emperor for lead and guidance in all affairs affecting the country. Instead of a despot or absolute monarch, we find the Chinese Emperor reigning as a Mandatory of the People. His powers, no doubt, were nominally very great, but they were in reality fully restricted by well-established regulations based on Confucian ethics. If he violated these regulations, he immediately forfeited the right to reign over his people, and the people's right of revolt became then operative. During China's long history, 24 such revolts are recorded, each of which has succeeded in replacing one dynasty by another and thus establishing the doctrine of popular sovereignty.

Again, the author's views such as that 'free peasants as wealth-producing class and a powerful bureaucracy as the ruling class, with political power concentrated in the hands of a small group at the top and an oppressed population' formed the social and political fabric of China, like Egypt, Babylon and India are not well-founded. The Chinese village where the peasants live is like a little republic. Apart from paying a nominal land tax, the village is entirely independent of the Central Government. It enjoys perfect freedom of industry and trade, of everything that concerns the Government. Education, police, public health, poor relief, old age pensions and similar services are carried out, not by 'local authorities,' as in modern Europe, but by the villagers themselves—by the families, the guilds, the gentries, all of whom act merely in accordance with immemorial custom and have no place in the official administration of the country.*

The author is not quite right in her observations on the Civil Service Examinations of China, when she says that 'Most of the officials were recruited from the families of those already in office; only a few from the families of merchants and wealthy peasants'. But the fact is that the Civil Service in China for more than one thousand years is the only Civil Service in the world which takes as its criterion, not rank, birth, nepotism or bribery, but personal merit. Many a Viceroy and Han Lin was descended from the humblest of families. It is personal merit which gives a man his place under the sun, not the accident of his birth. The competitive examination system was inaugurated under the Sung dynasty and was based on Confucian classics.

On the ancient institution of Chinese Family system, the author does not look very sympathetically. Yet she admits that Confucian ideas have tended

* *China in Revolt*. By Tang Leang Li.

more to strengthen the Family than did Christianity. The author should have known that Christianity in spite of one century's evangelization has failed in China because the early Christian missionaries attacked the Family system, which the Chinese considered as the *summum bonum* of their society and civilization. The author thinks that from time immemorial, greater families existed in China more than the basic families. But the fact is that there have always been more basic families than greater families in that country. Before B. C. 1122 when China was still in the feudal age, the nobles had greater families while the ordinary people had basic families. In his works, Mencius often spoke of 'a family of five mouths' or 'a family of eight mouths.' The former is clearly a basic family, while the latter may still be a basic family of two parents and six children. In the Han dynasty the basic family was very popular. Yet, the greater family had also its place in Chinese society. Though the greater family has been the standard, many families living under the same roof would give the impression of their being the greater type. But the family is sub-divided into many smaller units, whose members cook their own food, till their own fields and bring up their own children.*

The author has devoted many chapters on the disabilities of Chinese women under the family system. Yet she has admitted that 'Chinese women are more efficiently protected than women in many other countries, and divorces in old China were rather rare.'

Whatever may be the views of foreign writers on the disabilities of Chinese women under the family system, the views of Madame Chiang Kai-shek, the acknowledged leader of the women of China is worth mentioning here. Writing in the *North China Daily News* (14 July, 1924), she says: 'The Chinese mother stands on an equal footing with the father, and an equal amount of respect and degree of mourning are due to either of them from the other members of the family. The restrictions placed on the freedom of movement of the Chinese women are to a great extent self-imposed and are intended for her protection rather than as an expression of her supposed inferiority to the man. On all matters outside the house the man is supreme, while in matters relating to the home and the family the woman is absolute mistress. Occasion for conflict thus hardly arises.'

It is an anachronism to say that Chinese women of ancient days suffered indescribable hardships imposed on them by men under the Confucian Family system. No doubt, by tradition, the Chinese women were confined to their homes. Yet from earliest times, women in China had participated in public affairs. There are examples to show that several have gained scholastic attainments. Even at the dawn of Chinese civilization, there were women who enjoyed equal freedom with men and whose social status was in no way inferior to that of men. At one time China had a matriarchal system, traces of which were still perceptible during the Chow dynasty (B. C. 1122-255). In the Confucian Book of Odes one finds abundant evidence that the Chinese woman of those early days was mistress of herself and her family.† Her

* Mr. James Shen in *China After Five Years of War*.

† Miss Pearl Hui Wong, in the *National Reconstruction Journal*, April, 1946, New York.

influence in her home, on her husband and indirectly on the State, was considered one of the important factors in the founding of the Chow dynasty. She took an active interest in politics. Chinese women have distinguished themselves in the realm of literature and art, and in social and other types of national service. There have been many poets, philosophers, scholars, warriors and Generals throughout the various dynasties. A Society which treated its fair sex as inferiors amounting to the position of chattel could not have produced such a distinguished galaxy of women leaders in ancient China.

Shantiniketan

9 September, 1946.

V. G. NAIR

MALAYA. By G. S. Rawlings. Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs, No. 29, 1945. [Bombay: Oxford University Press, As. 6]

It is surprising that this pamphlet coming under the Oxford series on 'Indian Affairs' contains very little mention about the contribution of Indian labour and Indian capital to make the Malay Peninsula 'the most prosperous region in the tropical East' in the past 70 years. Written by a civil servant, it contains here and there certain strong bureaucratic prejudices, passed on as facts. For instance, on page 10 the author says that 'their (the Malay's) aversion is directed to the Chinese and Indians whom they are inclined to disdain.' The only thing true about that statement is that that is the state of inter-communal harmony desired by a certain type of Colonial Administrators. Mr. Rawlings has no positive suggestion to make about the political future of Malaya except that 'it is patent too that for sometime to come an acceptable controlling power will be needed in Malaya and that Britain is that power.' The publication otherwise gives a fair outline of the social, economic and political problems that confront Malaya.

R. V. A.

FOREIGN BOOKS ON INDIA

MARTIAL INDIA. By Yeats Brown. 1945. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 8s.6d)

A glance at the table of contents of this book shows that within the compass of two hundred pages, the author has given us much more than 'the story of two million volunteers.' A cursory reading will reveal that while the main object is to paint the picture of India's part in this war, a very lucid, if brief, historical account of the origin and growth of our Defence services is also made available to the public. There is no attempt at doing any propaganda, no trace of a patronizing attitude. We have a straightforward account of the social conditions of India's soldiers, the background of their training and their remarkable achievements—all written with knowledge, understanding and sympathy.

A careful reader will not go without his reward. Several interesting and noteworthy observations strike us as we turn the pages over. A few illustrations—chosen at random—will bear out this remark.

'Hinduism does not exactly deny democracy, but it removes it to another place. It asserts that we are not equal in this world and cannot be equal but that we are all God's children, and that all of us shall have wings when we deserve them....There is a great deal of brotherhood and kindness in Hinduism which has endured for thirty centuries or more and has promoted many high philosophies' (p. 20).

'The present war with its varied opportunities is driving a ploughshare through ancient prejudices' (p. 35). Not the prejudices of the people only (the reader notes) but prejudices of the government as well. The myth, for instance, of 'the martial and the non-martial races' has been dissolved in the acids of the experience of modern wars.

'An Indian child knows a lot more about some things than the average English boy. And sky is the limit to what he can learn, provided you teach him the right way' (p. 40).

'Women have always exercised a mighty influence in India and not always only in the home, as witness the Rani of Jhansi, who died in battle against the British' (p. 61).

The battles of Stalingrad and El Alamein are regarded as the turning points of this War. If the credit of the former is due to the Russians, that of the latter mainly goes to our brethren in the Eighth Army. The author gives us a graphic account of that battle (p. 101).

Again, barring the longest land-front in Russia, the next longest was the one in Burma and that was held by the Indians. 'Fighting their way through the monsoon, wet to the skin for three months on end, and with all the dangers but none of the distractions of the Western Front, the men of the Fourteenth Army—more than half of whom are Indians—have achieved miracles' (p. 182).

The public has always felt critical of the way in which candidates are selected for Commissions in the Army. The new procedure followed by the Selection Boards is described in detail (p. 46) and that should convince a layman that the new methods are scientific and that the personal factor has been largely eliminated from them.

Having visited several training centres, the author gives in this book a realistic account of the methods of instruction. One may cite in this connexion his descriptions of the way in which ratings are trained in detecting submarines (p. 118) and how 'pilots and crews who fly in fast planes are tested in a decompression chamber' (p. 126).

Writing about India's soldiers and as an Englishman, the author candidly observes: 'There is sometimes a gulf between our ways of thinking, but never between our ways of fighting. Indians in battle have earned the respect of friend and foe throughout history and all over the world' (p. 200).

The value of the book is so much enhanced by the ten maps and fourteen illustrations included. The book, I feel convinced, should prove 'a part of education' to the reader.

INDIA ON THE MARCH. By Dorothy Hogg. 1945. (London: Friends Peace Committee. 1s.)

This book published by the Friends Peace Committee is written by an English friend of India and deals with the problems that face India. It traces the various efforts to end the Indian political deadlock down to the Simla Conference and explains the part played by Gandhiji in them. The book does not lay the blame for the failure of these efforts on any one person or party but appeals to all to come together in a spirit of goodwill and friendliness to solve the problem. Gandhiji is portrayed, not as the arch-enemy of England, but as one constantly working for peace and understanding between India and England.

The author tries to impress on the readers the significance of Gandhiji's fourteen-point constructive programme which has started a great movement for the moral and spiritual regeneration of India. The book makes an appeal to the people of England to help and not hinder India's march to freedom. It ends on a confident note of hope that India will be able to solve her problems and go forward to her goal of freedom for all—of body, mind and soul. Written with great sympathy and understanding, this book ought to help the cause of friendship between India and England.

20 September, 1946

S. THOMAS

INDIA TODAY: AN INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN POLITICS.

By Raleigh Parkin. 1946. (New York: John Day. Toronto: Longmans. \$4.00).

RESTLESS INDIA. By Lawrence K. Rosinger. 1946. (Foreign Policy Association, Headline Series Book, 35c.)

OTHER BOOKS

OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEM. By P. A. Wadia and K. T. Merchant. Second Edition 1945. (Bombay: New Book Co., Rs. 6-8.)

Our Economic Problem is an able and inspiring essay on the fundamental causes of Indian poverty. Though the problems of trade, transport, currency, banking and finance are reserved for a companion volume, the authors, two of Bombay's well-known professors, have succeeded in a remarkable degree in presenting a compact, reliable and up-to-date analysis of the economic problems of the country. They have taken special pains to make their study comprehensive and to collect their data from the latest and the most authoritative sources available. They stress the fact that 'the welfare of our country is determined not merely by the healthy functioning of its economic institutions but requires a well-adjusted and harmonious growth of our social, political and cultural institutions'. Throughout the book there is ample evidence of a broad sociological outlook—not too broad for even those who prefer a constructive approach to each set of problems—and an emphasis on world forces. The authors hold certain definite views and share a philosophy of

history for which they are pleased to find support in the facts of the Indian situation. They have been able to collect a number of revealing instances which ought to disturb the complacency of those who believe in private enterprise. They frankly disapprove of the economic opportunism of most of the Commissions and Committees that have in the past been entrusted with the task of reporting upon Indian questions on the ground that 'tinkering with each economic problem as it happens to arise in what is regarded as an unchangeable structure will not do'. The solution according to them lies 'in a larger vision, animating the future rulers of India and pointing in the direction of socialized industries worked in the interest of the country as a whole'. They have not, however, anticipated any insurmountable difficulties in the running of a socialized economy. It is also remarkable that according to them, 'the only sound basis on which India can demand protection is the claim for economic self-sufficiency'.

The style of the book is marked by clarity and vigour. Special attention appears to have been paid to the concluding paragraphs of each chapter which sparkle so much with literary and biblical touches that they strike the reader as models of artistic expression of elevating sentiments. The book is bound to become more and more popular specially with University students who will find here a lot of useful material presented in a style which is never dull or insipid but is either stimulating or provocative.

15 November, 1945

N. S. PARDASANI

GANDHIAN CONSTITUTION FOR FREE INDIA. By Shriman Narayan Agarwal 1946 (Allahabad: Kitabistan Rs. 3/12)

In the fast changing India of today books like this have a part to play. In the first part of the book the author traces the background of different constitutions in the world: this portion is profuse with verbatim quotations from a large number of writers on political thought.

In the second part of the book, the 'Gandhian Constitution for Free India' is sketched in broad outline. It is one based on the supremacy of the Village Panchayat and local self-sufficiency. With the extension of communications and mechanization, it is not easy to think that a Constitution of the type described could be set up so easily. Yet it contains many useful ideas, and one can only echo Mahatmajī's own comment in his Foreword that he regards it to be a thoughtful contribution to the many attempts at presenting India with constitutions. One who wants a concise presentation of many of Mahatma Gandhi's ideas can usefully look to this book. Many of these ideas should find a place in India's constitution of tomorrow.

24 March, 1946

N.

GANDHIJI AS WE KNOW HIM. Edited by Chandra Shanker Shukla, 1945. (Bombay: Vora & Co., Rs. 3/4)

'Great as Gandhiji is as a politician, as an organizer, as a moral reformer, he is greater than all these as a man' and it is as a man that we see him in the pages of one of the latest additions to Gandhian literature, *Gandhiji As We*

Know Him. The book gives the reactions of different types of men and women to the warm, simple, human personality of Gandhiji. Among the contributions are some from his co-workers and associates including an intimate picture of Gandhiji's life in Sevagram Ashram by the late Mahadev Desai and a touching description of the last hours spent in the Aga Khan Palace by Pyarelal. There is a spirited defence of Gandhiji by Jawaharlal Nehru against the criticism of those who judge him from the point of view of a narrow socialism. Magnificent tributes are paid to him by Reginald Reynolds, Horace Alexander, Muriel Lester and other westerners who realized that Gandhiji's life constituted a challenge to Christianity as it is practised in the West to-day. Of special significance is the reaction of J. H. Holmes to whom Gandhiji's life seemed as great a miracle as happened when 'the word became flesh and dwelt among men'. To a generation which has grown up since Gandhiji retired from active politics and which therefore has not come in intimate contact with him, this book should reveal the infinite grace and charm of his personality.

1 March, 1946

S. THOMAS

IDEAS HAVE LEGS. By Peter Howard. 1945 (Bombay : Thacker & Co., Rs. 5)

In this book Mr. Howard gives a sketch of his family life, his troubles intertwined with the march of ideas. We get an insight into the life and temperament of the author. Through his experiences he has rediscovered for himself the Christian doctrines—that honesty is the best policy, that nations should unite in an alliance of service and that the British imperialists should adopt a more sympathetic attitude towards their dominions such as India.

On the whole the style is vigorous and animated. Now and again he is apt to over-emphasize things—for example when he lays too much stress on the return to God and on the moral rearmament drive of Buchman. The get-up of the book is smart and it makes interesting reading. But one gets more the character-sketch of the author than of ideas which have legs. It is a book for a long winter evening.

1 March, 1946

S. PRABHU

THE QUEST OF LEADERSHIP. By Colonel Donald Portway. 1945. (Bombay: Thacker & Co., Rs. 4/14)

The book concerns itself mainly with men who are born great and achieve greatness, mentioning, however, that qualities of leadership are mainly acquired and not innate. It gives interesting information, the writer having come to conclusions in the light of his own experiences. The recent war and the managerial revolution that threatens to overshadow capitalism in the business field, have indicated the urgent need for the choice of the right type of leaders. The book enumerates the various methods—many extant—of choosing leaders. It has nothing startlingly new to offer and lacks method and a proper sequence of ideas. The author also indulges in a needless repetition of ideas and his arguments too are haphazard at places.

In the first chapter the writer divides leaders into three categories, the institutional, the dominant and the persuasive types, hastening, however, to add that these are not watertight compartments. He devotes the last three chapters to problems peculiar to India in the choice of leaders. While condemning the present system of education, he mentions the Sargent scheme for reform which, he says, does not go far enough but makes no attempt to offer any alternative suggestions of a practical nature.

'A few remarks in a spirit of criticism tempered by an appreciation of the great possibilities and potentialities of a sub-continent....' such are the writer's remarks on Mr. Beverly Nichols' book! After this one feels rather diffident to accept his views on India.

The theme of the book, however, is of special importance to men actively engaged in the selection of young men of promise. It is thought-provoking, and, though not a complete survey of the subject, is a good introduction to it.

1 *March*, 1946

M. ACHAYA

CAPITALISM EXPOSED. By Karam Singh, M.A., 1945 (Delhi: Chand & Co., Re. 1/8)

The book is more an analysis of capitalism than an 'exposure' of it. Though the writer's intention has been to put his ideas in the layman's language, very much of classroom economic language has crept in. Excepting where he occasionally gives a hit at capitalism and quite often praises socialism and communism there is not enough material to justify the title 'Capitalism Exposed'.

22 *March*, 1946

N.

TOWARDS A NATIONAL THEATRE. By Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya. 1945. (Aundh: Aundh Publishing Trust, Re. 1/8)

An exposition—at once informative and illuminating—of the need and function of a National Theatre for India, its historical background and its social value. A brilliant book by a pioneer actress and artist.

ASSAM. By Alban Ali and Eric Lambert. 1946. (Madras: Oxford University Press, As. 6)

A booklet replete with factual material about the geographical configuration, climate, fauna and flora, resources, trade and communications, people and administration of Assam.

LEADERS OF INDIA: VOL. II. By Yusuf Meherally. 1946. (Bombay: Padma Publications, Re. 1)

Delightful pen-portraits of Mahatma Gandhi, Subhas Bose, Kamala Devi, Aruna Asaf Ali, Achyut Patwardhan, Dr. Khan Sahib and Master Tara Singh.

RECOLLECTIONS AND REFLECTIONS. By Chimanlal M. Setalvad. 1946. (Bombay: Padma Publications, Rs. 12/8)

An authentic record of rich reminiscences by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad extending over half a century of varied official and public life.

THE I.N.A. SPEAKS. 1946. (Delhi : Raj Kamal Publications, Re.1/8).

A useful collection of the statements made by some of the prominent I.N.A. leaders in the General Courts Martial.

ARTICLES ON INDIA IN FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Economic

THE SHADOW OF FAMINE. By H. N. Brailsford, *The New Statesman and Nation*, 13 July, 1946.

An expert exposition of the critical famine conditions in India particularly Mysore and the Government policies and precautionary measures.

A NEW RURAL INDIA. By Brigadier F. L. Brayne, *Spectator*, 19 July, 1946.

An informed attempt to draft an overall plan for rural India to raise the standard of living and paint the picture of a future home, village and town—a plan to be subsequently broken down into various departmental jobs.

Political

TRIFLING WITH INDIA'S DESTINY. By Dr. Anup Singh, *Voice of India*, May 1946.

A criticism of British Government's policy in allowing the second Simla Conference to founder on the rock of Mr. Jinnah's intransigence.

THE INDIAN PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA. By Ashwin Choudrec, *The Asiatic Review*, July 1946.

Traces the historical background of Indian immigration and details the Capetown Agreement and the Pegging Act culminating in the Land Tenure and Representation Bill aimed against Indians.

INDIA'S ROLE IN ASIA IN THE POST-WAR WORLD. By Ayana Deva, *The Asiatic Review*, July 1946.

A good attempt at appraising the possible Indian rôle in Asia by virtue of her geographical, economic, political and cultural status, the racial and political subordination and the degrading poverty of the Asiatic masses, besides her own relative position in Asia and the world, and Asia's relative position in the rest of the world.

THE CABINET MISSION TO INDIA. By Sir William P. Barton. *The Fortnightly*, July, 1946.

THE END OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA. By D. W. Brogan, *Pacific News Letter*, June 1946.

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A simple exposition of the salient features of the recent British Cabinet offer to India and the reactions of the important political elements in India.

THE INDIAN PROBLEM. By Dr. John Coatman, *The Contemporary Review*, July, 1946.

A lopsided account of the British Cabinet proposals of 16 May and the possible obstacles in the way of their acceptance.

ITALY AND INDIA. By Lionel Fielden, *The New Statesman and Nation*, 6 July 1946.

Reflections on the comparative conditions in the two countries which are the result of maladjustment of Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon minds to Latin or Asiatic thought.

THE INDIAN ARMY OFFICER. By Major Gurbachan Singh, *Spectator*, 2 August, 1946.

A passionate plea for a reform in the methods of selection of young men with attributes of leadership and sound general education to evolve a cadre of efficient Indian Army Officers.

BROADCASTING IN INDIA. By Winifred Holmes, *The Asiatic Review*, July 1946.

A laudatory account of the development of the A.I.R. and its programmes, and of the keynotes of broadcasting in the different cultural or regional groups and its reconstruction plans.

A DISTINGUISHED INDIAN BATTALION CELEBRATES ITS CENTENARY. By Brigadier J. G. Smyth, *The Asiatic Review*, July 1946.

A factual account of the part played in the Indian Mutiny and the first and second World Wars by the First Battalion of the Sikh Regiment or the 14th Sikhs which celebrated its centenary on 4 May, 1946.

INDO-BRITISH RELATIONS IN THE FUTURE. By Dr. Percival Spear, *The Asiatic Review*, July 1946.

An interesting resume of the assets and liabilities of Indo-British relations and the lines on which the political, commercial and cultural relations could be developed in the future.

MR. JINNAH. By Z. A. Suleri, *The Contemporary Review*, July 1946.

An eulogistic biographical note and character-sketch of Jinnah as leader of the All-India Muslim League.

PRESENT TREND IN INDIAN CONGRESS. By Alice Thorner, *Far Eastern Survey*, 3 July, 1946.

Delineates the reorientation of Congress policy in respect of labour and peasants, the Princes and the Communists since the release of the Congress leaders in 1945.

FERMENT IN INDIA. By Woodrow Wyatt, *The New Statesman and Nation*, 20 July, 1946.

A sympathetic analysis of the political unrest in India and contribution of the British Cabinet proposals in averting an immediate eruption.

FERMENT IN INDIA. By Woodrow Wyatt, *The New Statesman and Nation*, 27 July, 1946.

An interesting survey of the obstacles likely to confront the Constituent Assembly, and the Government in the transition period.

ON UNDERSTANDING INDIA. By Morton Zuckermarn, *Voice of India*, May 1946.

Underlines the Universal desire in India for Independence as proved by the demonstrations during the I.N.A. trials and draws attention to important facts knowledge of which will help Americans to understand India.

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CHRONICLE OF IMPORTANT EVENTS

INDIA, BRITAIN

- 5 July 1946 The Governor-General-in-Council announced the abolition of the Department of Planning and Development of the Government of India with effect from 4 July, 1946.
- 7 July 1946 The All-India Congress Committee passed a resolution ratifying the Delhi resolution of the Congress Working Committee deciding to enter the Constituent Assembly, and another resolution according support to the Indian *satyagraha* in South Africa.
- 10 July 1946 Attlee laid before Parliament two White Papers on India, one giving the correspondence of the Cabinet Mission with the Congress Party and the Muslim League between 20 May and 29 June, and the other relating to Sikhs, Indian States and the European community.
- 14 July 1946 It was officially announced that the Government of India had agreed to grant a long term credit of Rs. 5 crores to the Government of Siam. The credit is for 20 years from 1946 and will carry interest at the rate of 3 per cent. This credit will enable the Siamese Government to purchase goods in India (mostly war surpluses) in order to assist the early restoration of normal conditions in Siam, which is essential for accelerating the procurement of rice so urgently needed in India.
- 16 July 1946 The British Government issued a White Paper stating that the former British League Mandates of Togoland and the Cameroons should continue to be administered as an integral part of the Gold Coast and Nigeria respectively under the international trusteeship system. Britain should be entitled to establish naval, military and air bases, erect fortifications, station her own forces in the territories and might make use of volunteer forces in ensuring that the territories played their part in the maintenance of international peace and security.
- 18 July 1946 The House of Commons debated the Cabinet Mission's work in India. Sir Stafford Cripps made a statement reviewing the Delhi parleys and Mr. A. V. Alexander made a spirited reply to Churchill's minorities bogey.
- 26 July 1946 The Bretton Woods Committee of the Indian Central Assembly decided to contribute to the International Bank two per cent of India's subscription which she had been called upon to pay by 24 August, 1946.
- 28 July 1946 The Laski Goodwill Mission on behalf of the British Labour Party National Executive left London for Moscow.
- 29 July 1946 The Muslim League Council decided to reverse its Delhi decision accepting the Cabinet Mission's scheme embodied in the State Paper of 16 May 1946 (i.e.) not to participate in the proposed Constituent Assembly. The Minister of State announced in the Commons that the British Government had decided to accept in principle the U. S. offer to co-operate with any other zone in Germany willing to do so to form an economic unit.
- 31 July 1946 The proposals of the British and American experts in London for the solution of the Palestine problem were announced in both Houses of the British Parliament. They include partition of Palestine into four areas—an Arab province, a Jewish province, the district of Jerusalem, and the district of Negeb,—with Jewish and Arab provinces enjoying a large measure of autonomy under a central government.
- 2 August 1946 It was disclosed

- that the U. K. Aircraft Mission had submitted its report to the Government of India outlining a ten-point plan to provide India with a modern aircraft industry at a cost of Rs. 1,30,00,000 in the first five years. The focal point of the whole plan is the acquisition of the Hindustan Aircraft factory at Bangalore as the nucleus around which India's aircraft industry would be built.
- 3 August 1946** It was announced by the Government of India that Indian troops had been sent to Basra in order that they might be at hand for the protection, should circumstances demand it, of Indian, British and Arab lives and in order to safeguard Indian and British interests in South Persia.
- 10 August 1946** The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution stating that while the Congress did not approve of all the proposals contained in the State Paper, they accepted the scheme in its entirety. The resolution expresses regret on the Muslim League's decision not to participate in the Constituent Assembly and appeals, in the larger interests of the country as a whole and the freedom of the people of India, for the co-operation 'of all those who seek the freedom and the good of the country in the hope that co-operation in common tasks may lead to the solution of many of India's problems'.
- 12 August 1946** It was announced that the Viceroy, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, had invited Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Congress, to make proposals for the immediate formation of an Interim Government and that the latter had accepted the invitation.
- 13 August 1946** Mr. H. G. Wells, the celebrated British author, died in London.
- 16 August 1946** An orgy of mob-violence broke out in Calcutta during the observance of the 'Direct Action Day' called by the Muslim League. It culminated in a communal holocaust for five days resulting in about 5000 dead and 20,000 injured and material loss estimated to amount to several crores of rupees.
- 17 August 1946** The British Foreign Office announced that the British Government had promised Greece 'a full and fair hearing' of its territorial claims against Bulgaria and Albania and that Britain would also back the Greek request for financial help from the International Bank for Reconstruction.
- 23 August 1946** The Moscow Radio announced that India would be among the countries to which the Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Youth would be sending a delegation.
- 25 August 1946** Mr. Jinnah released the correspondence that passed between him and the Viceroy between 22 July and 8 August, 1946.
- 2 September 1946** The new Interim Government under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru assumed office. Pandit Nehru declared that the new members of the Government would function as a Cabinet discussing all important matters together and coming to joint decisions with joint responsibility.
- 3 September 1946** The British Government issued a White Paper setting forth the terms of the agreement reached in London between them and the Dutch Government for air services between Great Britain and Holland and in respect of long distance routes traversing the territories of both countries. Appended to the agreement are reservations respecting calls at points in India and Singapore. The agreement leaves such matters as tariffs and frequencies to be arranged by the various operators. It provides for necessary amendments to be made if a general multilateral air

convention comes into force which is accepted by both Governments.

- 4 **September 1946** It was stated that a new rule had been introduced in the Reciprocity (South Africa) Rules, 1944, framed under Section 3 of the Reciprocity Act 1943, obliging the 1,500 South African nationals at present in India who had entered India before December 1944 to obtain the necessary permit so that their presence in India might be regularized. This would put them on the same footing as non-domiciled persons of Indian origin in South Africa.
- 5 **September 1946** The British Foreign Secretary and the French Premier opened negotiations for a Franco-British trade agreement.
- 9 **September 1946** It was announced that the Trade and Tariff Sub-Committee of the Consultative Committee of Economists had favoured India's participation in the proposed International Trade Conference in a report on the U. S. Government's proposals for the expansion of world trade and employment.
- 10 **September 1946** The London Conference on Palestine was opened by Attlee who declared that the present state of affairs in Palestine could not be permitted to continue and that no settlement was possible in Palestine until each community was prepared to make concessions and take account of others' interests.

It was announced in London that an Anglo-Soviet Agreement had been reached on the method by which prices would be calculated on the outstanding £40 million worth of machinery and electrical equipment ordered by Russia during the war and still unshipped. The prices would be lowered by about 13 per cent below the original estimate. The Soviet Government offered to make available 25,000 standards of timber this season for shipment to the United

Kingdom. The contract would shortly be concluded between the British Timber Control and the Soviet Exporting Organization. Russia would pay 40 per cent of the goods in cash and would be allowed credit for the remaining 60 per cent.

- 12 **September 1946** The Governor of Sind dissolved the Sind Assembly and ordered fresh General Elections.
- 16 **September 1946** It was decided to summon the Indian Constituent Assembly on 9 December 1946.

Sir James Jeans, the celebrated astronomer died at the age of 69.
- 17 **September 1946** The conclusion of an Anglo-Argentine Agreement on Argentina's £130,000,000 sterling balances was announced in London. The agreement also relates to meat and railways. The Agreement provides that a great bulk of it will remain blocked in London carrying only $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest. All future accretions of sterling will be free. Argentina can convert them into gold, dollars or any other currency that she wishes. £5,000,000 will be freed in each of the next 4 years. All the remainder can be used only in sterling areas for repatriating Argentine sterling debts or British investments in Argentina. Argentina is also entitled to transfer a lump sum of £10,000,000 to Brazil. The amount £4,500,000 in gold which Argentina has held in London since the outbreak of war has also been freed.
- 21 **September 1946** Anglo-Brazilian Trade Agreement was signed in London providing for the despatch to London of a special Purchasing Mission to discuss purchase of material urgently required for the rehabilitation of Brazil and modernization of her transport and industry and a Financial Mission to discuss Brazilian Sterling balances in Britain amounting to about £50,000,000. The British Govern-

ment would give all possible assistance to the rapid fulfilment of orders for transport and industrial equipment placed by Brazil in Britain.

- 23 **September 1946** The All-India Congress Committee endorsed the decision of the Working Committee to form an interim National Government.
- 25 **September 1946** The Congress Working Committee accepted Pandit Nehru's resignation from the

Congress Presidentship consequent on his becoming the Prime Minister of the Interim Government but requested him to carry on the duties till the election of the new President on 20 October.

- 26 **September 1946** Pandit Nehru announced his Government's plans for direct diplomatic dealings with all countries and Goodwill Missions to the Middle East and European countries and support for subject nations' fight for freedom.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA, AUSTRALIA & NEW ZEALAND

- 1 **July 1946** Ceylon Indians submitted their case before the Delimitation Commission for multiple constituencies to return 12 Indians to the House of Representatives under Ceylon's new Constitution. After 104 years of rule by white Rajas, Sarawak became a British crown colony.

- 15 **July 1946** British North Borneo formally became part of the British Empire, ending 64 years of administration by the British North Borneo Company.

- 1 **August 1946** The entire Viet-Nam Republican delegation to France for talks on future status of newly-created Viet-Nam Republic within the French Union walked out of the Conference at the beginning of the plenary session which was called to discuss the question of the union of Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina.

- 5 **August 1946** It was officially announced that Siam had made a formal application for membership of the United Nations.

- 7 **August 1946** The Australian Premier told the House of Representatives that Australia was insisting upon complete and exclusive control of New Guinea. It was intended to provide naval, military and air bases and erect fortifications. He added that no agreement would be considered that restricted Australia's right to look after the defence of New Guinea

and consequently, the safety of Australia.

- 8 **August 1946** The Australian Senate passed a Bill which requires the Australian Broadcasting Commission to establish an independent news service.

- 20 **August 1946** A conference of Prime Ministers of Australian States agreed to Commonwealth proposals for admission of 70,000 immigrants to Australia every year. Child immigration will be approved under the auspices of voluntary immigration organizations. The conference was opposed to the principle of large-scale group settlements of foreigners.

- 23 **August 1946** Luang Dhamrong Nawasawat, Minister of Justice, was elected Premier of Siam at a joint session of the Assembly and the State Council to succeed Panomyong who resigned to make way for a younger man.

- 27 **August 1946** It was authoritatively stated in Canberra that Australia was pressing for the establishment of a Pacific Regional Council of the United Nations.

The Supreme Council of the Anti-Fascist Peoples League of Burma demanded the withdrawal of the Defence of Burma Act and the Emergency Rules and remission of sentences passed under these rules.

- 31 **August 1946** The U. S. State

Department announced that U. S. forces would remain in Korea until 'a united, independent and democratic Government' had been established there. Whenever Russia gave the word, the United States would be ready to continue the work of the Joint Soviet-American Commission which failed to reach an agreement on unifying Korea.

- 10 **September 1946** The personnel of the Dutch Delegation to Indonesia was announced—Dr. Schermerhorn, a former Premier, (Chairman), F. D. Boer and M. J. Van Poll.

The Australian Immigration Minister announced that he had planned to depute the Assistant Secretary of his Department to India in October to discuss and answer questions in connexion with the emigration of British soldiers in India to Australia.

- 12 **September 1946** It was stated that according to the proposals made by the Delimitation Commission in Ceylon, 7 Indians could be returned to Ceylon's first House of Representatives of 95 elected members under the new Constitution from 89 electoral districts that had been delimited by the Commission.

- 15 **September 1946** Hoshi Minh, President of the Viet-Nam Republic, and M. Montet the French Colonial Minister, signed a provisional agreement in Paris

ending the month and a half long negotiations. The agreement leaves unsolved the major issue of the Viet-Nam position in the Indo-China Federation and talks to achieve a more complete understanding may start in January 1947 in France.

- 17 **September 1946** It was announced that the Governor of Burma had accepted the resignation of all the members of the present Executive Council.

- 24 **September 1946** The Burmese Anti-Fascist Peoples Freedom League decided to participate in the new Government thus ending the one-year old political deadlock.

The Governor-General of the Malayan Union announced that a planning Mission from Britain would blue-print new towns of British North Borneo.

- 26 **September 1946** Gen. Aung San formed the first interim National Government for Burma consisting of 6 representatives of the Anti-Fascist Peoples Freedom League and 5 others. Gen. Aung San is Deputy Chairman of the National Government and is in charge of Defence and External Affairs.

- 27 **September 1946** Truce talks between representatives of the Indonesian Republican Army and Allied Headquarters were indefinitely adjourned as both sides disagreed on the subjects to be discussed.

THE FAR EAST

- 4 **July 1946** The Republic of the Philippines was formally inaugurated. The U. S. High Commissioner publicly proclaimed the Independence of the Philippines on behalf of President Truman. M. Manuel Roxas was sworn in as President and Mr. Elpi Quirino as Vice-President.

- 31 **July 1946** It was disclosed in Tokyo that a Purchasing Commission representing Singapore,

the Malayan Union, Hongkong, Burma, Ceylon and British North Borneo would arrive in Tokyo to reopen trade channels between Japan and other oriental countries. The Governments of India, China, the Philippines etc. had also indicated their willingness to negotiate with Gen. MacArthur's Headquarters for Japanese products in return for commodities urgently needed in Japan, all

transactions being conducted on a 'Government to Government' basis.

10 **August 1946** Gen. George Marshall, U. S. Special Envoy to China and Mr. John Leighton Stuart, U. S. Ambassador, issued a joint statement admitting a virtual failure of their efforts to bring peace and unity to China.

24 **August 1946** The Japanese House of Representatives passed the Constitution Revision Bill renouncing war, whittling down the Imperial prerogatives and establishing a blue-print for self-government by the Japanese democratic State. All the 6 Communist members and two minor party members voted against the Bill on the ground that the new Constitution fails to guarantee workers' rights and still leaves too much power with the Emperor.

Gen. MacArthur named 505 factories in eight fields of Japanese industry for potential removal by the Allies as reparations. The factories were yet to be earmarked for actual removal by a specified Allied Power.

30 **August 1946** Chiang Kai-shek promised the reorganization of the Chinese Government by 12 November and called on the Communists to halt their mobilization and evacuate areas which, he termed 'a menace to security.'

31 **August 1946** The U. S. Ambassador to China, announced the formation of a new five-man Kuomintang-Communist inter-party committee as the first step towards breaking the deadlock in China.

Dr. Soong, the Chinese Prime Minister, announced the signing of an agreement for the sale to China of U. S. civilian type surplus property in the Pacific and China worth originally over 200 million sterling. In return the U. S. will receive an equivalent of 44 million sterling, two-thirds of it in the form of cancellation of U. S. obligations to China.

20 **September 1946** Four local Government Reform Bills were passed by the Japanese House of Peers providing for popular election of prefectural Governors, city Mayors, heads of towns, villages and wards and establishing more authority and responsibility in popularly elected local assemblies, with the National Government specifically denied any form of control over the peoples' elected representatives.

27 **September 1946** It was announced that China had concluded negotiations with Canada for an interim most-favoured-nation trade treaty which would be followed by a full-dress treaty next spring.

THE NEAR EAST AND MIDDLE EAST

7 **July 1946** It was stated that the Iraq Government had approved a ten-year plan to rebuild Iraq economically from the viewpoint of irrigation, health and education.

8 **July 1946** The Arab League released the text of the memorandum sent individually by all the Arab States to Britain on the Palestine question after the League meeting in June at Bludan.

10 **July 1946** In a note to the High Commissioner, the Palestine Arab

Higher Committee demanded immediate dissolution of the Jewish Agency on account of its subversive political activities.

21 **July 1946** The people of Turkey went to the polls to elect, for the first time in their history, by universal suffrage and secret ballot, a National Assembly which would have an opposition to the Republican Peoples' Party, till now Turkey's only authorized party.

25 **July 1946** The Jewish Agency announced that it would boycott

- any attempt by the British Government to initiate talks which would make the immigration of 100,000 Jewish refugees to Palestine contingent on Arab consent.
- 27 July 1946** It was announced that the Sudan Liberal Party had withdrawn from the delegation nominated by the Sudan General Congress to go to Cairo to press Sudan's claims for independence at the Anglo-Egyptian treaty talks, as the policy of the delegation now was at variance with the original all-party delegation.
- 2 August 1946** M. Ghavam Sultanch, the Iranian Premier, presented his new Cabinet, which included three members of the left-wing Tudeh party, to the Shah.
- 4 August 1946** The Sarajoglu Cabinet in Turkey resigned unexpectedly. President Incunur entrusted M. Peker with the formation of a new Cabinet.
- 5 August 1946** The Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency for Palestine announced that the British proposals for the future of Palestine were 'unacceptable as basis for discussion.' General Kazim Karabekir, Turkish Army Commander during the war of Independence, was elected President of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (Parliament).
- 8 August 1946** It was officially announced in Tehran that the Iranian Government had in a note to the British Embassy in Tehran demanded the immediate withdrawal of British and Indian troops from Basra.
- 13 August 1946** The Membership Committee of the United Nations Security Council unanimously endorsed the membership application of Afghanistan.
- 14 August 1946** The Turkish Premier reaffirmed Turkey's determination to safeguard her territorial integrity but indicated her willingness to negotiate revision of the Montreux Convention. He emphasized however that Turkey considered that the revision should be done along with other signatory powers.
- 18 August 1946** The Foreign Ministers of the Arab States unanimously rejected the British plan for partition of Palestine but accepted the invitation to discuss the future of the Holy Land at a Conference in London.
- 22 August 1946** The Seven States of the Arab League sent a note to the British Government requesting British recognition of the Mufti of Jerusalem as the leader of Palestine 'for he is indispensable to Palestine and recognition of his leadership is essential.'
- 29 August 1946** It was officially stated in Jerusalem that Britain was not prepared to invite the Mufti of Jerusalem to the Palestine Conference in London.
- 31 August 1946** The Arab Higher Committee rejected the British invitation to attend the London Conference on Palestine on the ground that 'Palestine Arabs have the sole right to choose their political leader and have, in fact, chosen the Grand Mufti.'
- 5 September 1946** 4 Egyptian Ministers belonging to the Liberal Party resigned from Sidky Pasha's Ministry on the ground that their party was not consulted before Sidky Pasha approached the Saadists with a view to their inclusion in the Ministry after a reshuffle of the portfolios in the present Ministry.
- 12 September 1946** King Farouk of Egypt signed three Bills approving a Cabinet reshuffle, creation of a State Council and judiciary appointments and promotions. The Cabinet reshuffle was due to the inclusion of members of the Saadist Party, the largest single party in the Chamber of Deputies. Sidky Pasha, the Premier, had thus the backing of two of the strongest

parties, the other being the Liberal Party.

- 23 **September 1946** General Mehdi Fatemi, Governor of the Southern Persian Province of Fars, handed over to the Iranian Premier a seven-point demand from the

Qashquai tribesmen who descended on 22 September from their mountain camps on the town of Shiraz and the Persian Gulf ports.

- 28 **September 1946** The Egyptian Cabinet resigned.

THE BRITISH DOMINIONS AND COLONIES

[OTHER THAN IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA]

- 13 **July 1946** Chief Tshekedi, head of the Bamangwato tribe of Bechuanaland, who had been refused special facilities to visit Britain to protest to the Dominions Secretary against the proposed incorporation of South-West Africa in the Union of South Africa, declared that the Union was showing 'oppressive imperialist tendencies' which vitally concerned the United Nations.
- 22 **July 1946** The Indian Association of Tanganyika passed a resolution declaring their opposition to Tanganyika becoming a British colony instead of a Trusteeship and supporting the transfer of the mandate to the United Nations provided continuity of British administration was guaranteed by terms of the trusteeship.
- 23 **July 1946** Sir Alan Burns, Governor of the Gold Coast, opened the colony's new Legislative Council which has an African majority for the first time in the history of the colonial world.

- 25 **July 1946** De Valera's motion that Eire Government be authorized to become a member of the United Nations was unanimously approved by the Dail.

- 14 **August 1946** Smuts told a Conference of his Party at Pretoria that the South African Government had decided on a very active immigration policy. He declared: 'situated on the black Continent as we are, we want good Europeans. We will get millions of them. We want our population to increase by leaps and bounds.'

- 19 **September 1946** It was announced in London that West Africans would soon establish a West African National Congress consisting of co-operative societies, trade unions, producers' unions and Bar and medical associations.

- 24 **September 1946** The Parliament of Faroes Island declared by 12 votes to 11 for the autonomy of the islands.

AMERICA

- 13 **July 1946** The U. S. House of Representatives passed the Bill ratifying the Anglo-American Loan Agreement. The Senate had passed the Bill on 11 May and thus the ratification by the U. S. Congress came 7 months and 7 days after the Agreement had been signed in Washington.
- 14 **July 1946** The U. S. Export-Import Bank announced a loan of 3,000,000 dollars (£750,000) to Ethiopia to be used for the pur-

chase in U. S. of equipment needed for rehabilitation of Ethiopia's economy.

- 19 **July 1946** The U. S. Senate rejected the proposed constitutional amendment to establish equal rights for women by turning down the proposal to write into the Constitution a new Article which said 'Equality of rights under law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any other State on account of sex.'

25 July 1946 The United States acknowledged its failure to obtain an international aviation agreement by multilateral action and announced that it would seek agreements with individual countries and that it had decided to withdraw from the International Air Transport Agreement signed in Chicago in 1944 providing for multilateral approach.

9 August 1946 It was disclosed in Washington that negotiations were under way with Tokyo for American extension of multilateral million dollar credits to Japan and Korea for purchase of surplus non-military Army and Navy equipment.

It was announced that the U. S. had made available a loan of \$40,000,000 to Poland through the Export-Import Bank after receiving from the Polish Government the text of its economic treaties with other nations.

The U. S. Export-Import Bank announced the formal agreement on a loan to Saudi Arabia of 10,000,000 dollars for the purchase of goods in the U. S. Saudi Arabia has to use the credit until 15 June 1948 and has two years in which to repay the money.

20 August 1946 The U. S. acting Secretary of State announced that the U. S. Government had sent a note to Russia in reply to the

Soviet suggestion that the Montreux Convention governing the Dardanelles should be revised so as to give the Soviet Union and Turkey exclusive responsibility for the defence of the Straits.

29 August 1946 The U. S. State Department stated that they had not yet fully decided on a plan for the former Japanese mandated islands in the Pacific and would not put forward any proposal for United Nations Trusteeship at the coming meeting of the United Nations General Assembly.

12 September 1946 Mr. Henry A. Wallace, U. S. Secretary of Commerce, addressing a meeting of Left-wing Citizens' Political Action Committee in New York, declared that 'to make Britain the key to American foreign policy would be the height of folly' and that 'British imperialistic policy in the Near East zone combined with Russian retaliation will lead the U. S. straight to war, unless we have a clearly defined realistic policy of our own.'

21 September 1946 Truman asked Mr. Wallace to resign and the latter resigned accordingly.

22 September 1946 Truman announced that he would appoint Mr. Averell Harriman, as Secretary for Commerce in succession to Mr. Wallace.

EUROPE

1 July 1946 Signor Gasperi, Italian Premier, submitted his resignation and that of his Cabinet to Signor Eurico de Nicola a few hours after the latter had become Italy's first President.

2 July 1946 The Communist Czech Premier-designate Klement Gottwald completed his Cabinet which includes Fierlinger (Social Democrat) as Vice-Premier and Jan Masaryk (Independent) as Foreign Minister.

3 July 1946 The New Dutch Coal-

tion Cabinet formed by Dr. Louis J. M. Beel was sworn in.

8 July 1946 A trade agreement was signed between the Soviet Union and Denmark in Moscow. Under the agreement the Soviet Union would send raw materials, materials for various Danish industries, solid fuel and fertilizers. Denmark would provide butter, meat and other agricultural products, fishing boats and industrial equipment. Prices and quantities involved were to be announced later.

- 9 July 1946 M. Van Acker, Belgian Premier, tendered resignation of his Cabinet to the Regent, following the defeat in the Senate of a motion of confidence in the Ministry.
- 12 July 1946 The official voting figures of the referendum held in Poland on 30 June were published. They disclosed that 98% of Poles answered 'yes' to the question 'Do you want a one-House Parliament?' and 91% to the question 'Do you approve of the establishment of Poland's western frontiers on the Oder and Neisse rivers?' and 78% to the question 'Do you approve of the nationalization of the basic industries and agrarian reforms?' Rome Radio announced the composition of the new Italian Cabinet under the Premiership of Signor Gasperi, the Christian Democratic leader. Christian Democrats hold 8 portfolios, Socialists 4, Communists 4, Republicans 2, and Independents 1.
- 18 July 1946 Dr. Van Mook, Lt.-Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies announced that within three months an assembly of elected representatives would be formed to consider the future status of outer territory (all Dutch East Indies except Java and Madura).
- 23 July 1946 Opening the new Session of Dutch Parliament, Queen Wilhelmina declared her Government's intention to assert their rights to a limited alteration of their eastern (German) frontier and to consider, so far as Netherlands was concerned, socialization of public utility services and of enterprises of a monopolistic character including the mining industry and the Netherlands Bank.
- 26 July 1946 The Bulgarian Parliament unanimously adopted a Bill for a referendum on the question of a monarchy or a republic and a new general election on 8 September, 1946.
- 30 July 1946 It was announced that the President of Finland had ratified the Finnish-Polish treaty signed in Warsaw.
- 2 August 1946 Camille Huysmans, 75 years old Socialist leader, declared that he had formed a new Belgian Government to succeed the Coalition Government of Van Acker which fell.
- 16 August 1946 Dr. Jonkman, the Netherlands Minister of Overseas Territories, told the Dutch Lower Chamber that the Dutch Government wanted to reach an agreement with the Indonesian nationalists. The French Government's counter-proposals to the U. S. plan for German economic unity which Britain supported, were rejected by the British and the U. S. representatives at a meeting of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Central Council in Berlin.
- 21 August 1946 It was announced that the Yugoslav Government had recalled its Ambassador to Greece.
- 29 August 1946 The Greek Left-wing coalition E. A. M. sent a memorandum to the United Nations Security Council demanding 'withdrawal of British troops from Greece.'
- 1 September 1946 The Greek people went to the polls to record their votes in the referendum on the question of the return of King George to Greece. The voting was in favour of the return of the King. The final voting figures showed, Registered votes, 1,801,140; Actual votes, 1,691,594; for the King, 1,166,512; Against, 521,267; and Invalid, 3,815.
- 8 September 1946 Bulgaria went to polls in a referendum on its future status and voted in favour of a Republic by 3,801,160 votes against 197,176 in favour of a Monarchy. The total number of votes polled represented 99.56 per cent of the electorate.

- 15 **September 1946** Bulgaria was declared a Republic.
- 19 **September 1946** The Soviet Government announced a decree for a sweeping purge of Soviet farm co-operatives against the plundering of farmlands and pilfering of property in Russia's far-flung agricultural enterprises.
- 24 **September 1946** The French Government published a decree fixing 13 October 1946 as the date for referendum on the second draft Constitution without waiting for the second and final reading of the Constitution Bill.
- 24 **September 1946** Moscow Radio reported that in a press interview Stalin had stated that gossip about a new war was intended to help

keep up war budgets and slow down demobilization.

The French Cabinet approved the draft law on the status of Algeria which decentralizes the political and administrative institutions and creates an Algerian Assembly which will be consulted on the application of laws voted in the French Assembly to the three Algerian departments.

- 27 **September 1946** King George of the Hellenes arrived in Greece to resume his reign.
- 29 **September 1946** The French National Assembly adopted by 440 votes to 106 the text of the new French Constitution which was to be submitted to a referendum on 13 October.

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

- 2 **July 1946** The Big Four Foreign Ministers' Conference reached an agreement in principle on internationalization of Trieste and on the boundaries of the international zone.
- 5 **July 1946** The Big Four Foreign Ministers reached agreement by finally accepting the demand by Molotov that the Big Four—without China—should sponsor invitations to the full-dress Peace Conference.
- 9 **July 1946** France, as the inviting Power, telegraphed invitations for the 21-nations Peace Conference to be held in Paris on 29 July.
- 23 **July 1946** The United Nations Secretariat announced that Egypt had requested that the United Nations General Assembly should consider a demand by Egypt and other Arab countries calling on Britain to end the present Palestine situation and install a new regime.
- 24 **July 1946** It was announced from Bikini Atoll that history's first under-water atomic bomb exploded at 9:35 p.m. G.M.T (3:5 a.m. I. S. T.).
- 30 **July 1946** The drafts of the peace

treaties to be discussed at the Paris Conference were published. Alternative clauses in the draft European peace treaties—the clauses on which the Big Four had not been able to agree—were also published.

- 2 **August 1946** The Cuban Government proposed the calling of a 'general conference' of the 51 States belonging to the United Nations with the aim of entirely eliminating Big Power veto privilege from the United Nations Charter.
- 3 **August 1946** The International Emergency Food Council set aside 270,000 tons of rice for shipment to India in the last half of this year.
- 8 **August 1946** The United Nations F. A. O. announced the proposals for a World Food Board whose job would be to set up emergency food reserves—'Food Banks'—, for consideration at the World Food Conference at Copenhagen.
- 13 **August 1946** The text of the Russian note to Turkey proposing revision of the 1936 Montreux Convention governing navigation through Dardanelles was published. It makes five suggestions for

a new pact: the Straits should always be open for passage of merchant ships of all countries and for passage of warships of Black Sea Powers; passage of non-Black Sea Powers is not permitted with the exception of cases specially provided for; the establishment of a Régime of the Straits as the only sea route leading out of and into the Black Sea must constitute the competence of Turkey and other Black Sea Powers; lastly Turkey and the Soviet Union, as the powers most interested in and capable of ensuring freedom of merchant shipping and security in the Straits, to organize by joint means the defence of the Straits in order to prevent their use by other States for purposes hostile to a Black Sea Power.

14 August 1946 The Zionist inner Council decided to convene a World Zionist Congress somewhere in Europe for November this year.

22 August 1946 It was announced that Turkey had replied Russia on the Dardanelles stating that she could not accept the Soviet suggestion that only the Black Sea States should take part in the new negotiations. Rejecting absolutely Russia's suggestion to share with it defence and control of the Straits, Turkey expressed readiness to amend the statutes of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus Straits in consultation with all the signatories of the Montreux Convention.

23 August 1946 Yugoslavia 'set aside' the U. S. ultimatum on the forcing down of U. S. planes and detaining the U. S. airmen, for the airmen had been released a few hours before the ultimatum was delivered in Belgrade. Yugoslavia announced that she would herself appeal to the Security Council against the alleged reten-

tion of Yugoslav ships in the Danube by U. S. occupation authorities.

24 August 1946 It was announced that U. S. had accepted Yugoslavia's reply to her 'ultimatum' note and thus the incident was closed.

12 September 1946 The International Monetary Fund opened a world-wide campaign against fluctuating currencies by calling upon its 39 members to set par values on their currencies within one month. All member countries were directed to notify the Fund of the value of their money in terms of gold or American dollars so that the Fund could begin operations probably in 1947. In addition to the prescribed 30 days, members were given an additional two months for conferences with Fund officials before par values were finally fixed. Members must base rates of exchange on the position prevailing on 28 October 1945, two months before the Fund Agreement became effective.

16 September 1946 Truman asked the United Nations Social and Economic Council to summon a World Scientific Conference to study global resources, including 'possible peaceful uses of atomic energy within the next few decades.' He wants the conference to be convened during the last six months of 1947, somewhere in the United States.

19 September 1946 U. S. proposed a formal organization of nations pledged to work for expanded world commerce through lowering trade barriers and curb on monopolistic practices. The nucleus of such an organization would be the nations which would negotiate tariff changes with U. S. at the conference scheduled to be held in 1947.

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